



THOMAS DOUGHTY





THOMAS WOODWARD



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Library of Congress Catalogue Card Number: 73-89435

Printed by: The Falcon Press, Philadelphia

**THOMAS DOUGHTY**  
**1793-1856**  
**AN AMERICAN PIONEER IN LANDSCAPE PAINTING**

**Selection and Catalogue**  
**by Frank H. Goodyear, Jr.**

Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts  
October 19 - December 2, 1973

Corcoran Gallery of Art  
December 14, 1973 - January 27, 1974

Albany Institute of History and Art  
February 14 - April 7, 1974

Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania



## Foreword

Thomas Doughty is an elusive figure in the history of American painting. In his own lifetime, he seemed to prefer to go his own way; his name is seldom recorded in the urbane artistic and literary circles of Philadelphia, Boston and New York City where he lived. It is not that he was unpopular or that his work lacked his peers' respect, but rather that his self-avowed privacy, and often precarious financial condition, kept him to himself. In addition, the loss of the Doughty family papers in a dock fire in New York City has left meager documentary material to establish the events of his life.

Not since 1949 when Robert G. McIntyre of the Macbeth Gallery in New York City presented a small exhibition of sixteen paintings by Thomas Doughty has this pioneer American landscapist's work been evaluated. Through Frank Goodyear's research, begun as a student in the Winterthur Program in Early American Culture, we are fortunate to have the opportunity to evaluate the largest collection of Doughty landscapes ever assembled.

Throughout his life Thomas Doughty exhibited his landscapes at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. He certainly must have attended the early Annual Exhibitions as an aspiring young artist growing up in Philadelphia in the early nineteenth century. He may even have attended the Academy's early 'life Academy' to study drawing and painting. In 1824 at the age of twenty-seven, and after only four years as a serious artist, he was elected a Pennsylvania Academician, an honor conferred by the Academy's Directors on artists who had "distinguished [themselves] by the merit of [their] own original works." Doughty shared this distinction bestowed by the Academy with artists of great popular recognition including Washington Allston, Gilbert Stuart and Charles Willson Peale. The Pennsylvania Academy is proud to present the first retrospective exhibition of an artist whose works were first encouraged through exhibition at the Academy over one hundred and fifty years ago.

Tom Armstrong



## Acknowledgements

Without the valuable assistance of many people, the research and preparation of this exhibition would have been doubly onerous. I am particularly grateful to Norman S. Rice, Director, Albany Institute of History and Art, Gene Baro, former Director, Corcoran Gallery of Art and Roy Slade, Director, Corcoran Gallery of Art for their museums' enthusiasm in sharing this exhibition. Bruce St. John, former Director, Delaware Art Museum, initially encouraged the progress of the exhibition.

My interest in Thomas Doughty began as a Fellow in the Winterthur Program in Early American Culture. I am particularly indebted to Charles F. Montgomery, Professor of Art History, Curator of Garvan and Related Collections of American Art, Yale University Art Gallery, for his constant guidance and friendship during the fellowship study, and to John A. H. Sweeney, Deputy Director, Winterthur Museum, for his helpful advice in the preparation of the thesis. R. Peter Mooz, Director, Bowdoin College Museum of Art and Wayne Craven, Professor of Art History, University of Delaware kindly read the thesis, and made valuable additions to it. Edward J. Nygren made valuable suggestions during the course of my research. I was greatly aided during my research by Thomas E. Norton, Senior Vice President, Sotheby Parke Bernet Inc., S. Morton Vose II, Vose Galleries of Boston, Inc., Morton C. Bradley, Jr., George E. Jordan, Stuart P. Feld, Cathleen McGuigan, Louisa Dresser and Nicholas Wyeth.

The exhibition would not have been possible were it not for the generosity of the many collectors and museums who have shared their pictures with us. Special thanks should be made to the Trustees and to Laura Luckey, Assistant, Painting Department, of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, for the loan of six canvases, and to Thomas L. Freudenheim, Director, The Baltimore Museum of Art, for making his museum's Doughty available for the exhibition. Dorothy W. Phillips, Curator of Collections and Research and Susan W. Grady, Registrar, Corcoran Gallery of Art have aided immeasurably in the preparation of the exhibition at the Corcoran Gallery of Art.

The entire staff of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts has helped with the endless details of organizing this exhibition. I am particularly grateful to Thomas N. Armstrong III, former Director, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Richard J. Boyle, Director, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, and Christine Huber, Registrar, and her staff, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, for their support. Marcela de Keyser ably prepared the manuscript. Finally, it is with special thanks that I salute Henry S. McNeil, Chairman, The Committee on Collections and Exhibitions, and the other members of his committee for their interested guidance and concern for the Academy's exhibition program.

Frank H. Goodyear, Jr.  
*Curator*

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## Introduction

Thomas Doughty achieved a remarkable degree of mixed critical acclaim during his life. The editor of the *Knickerbocker Magazine* in 1848, in reviewing the current American Art Union exhibition in New York expressed one sentiment:

Doughty's pictures and Cole's pictures should be placed apart from the rest. We all admit them to be our masters; Cole in one style and Doughty in another. Cole is epical, Doughty is epilogical; Cole in his later studies, is the Painter of Poetry; Doughty, in study perpetual, is the Painter of Nature. Let us honor both—the dead renowned and the living beautiful.<sup>1</sup>

Not all critics were so generous in their praise. Three years earlier Charles Lanman, the landscape painter, had remarked:

...it is obvious that he has never painted much from nature, for there is a monotony in his touch, which cannot escape the attentive student of nature.<sup>2</sup>

Overly sensitive to such criticism, Doughty, who was described by one admirer as having:

a fine, noble and generous nature with many admirable qualities of heart and mind<sup>3</sup> in his later life became a bitter, vengeful man. Henry T. Tuckerman in his *Book of the Artists* (1867) went so far as to describe him as "morbidly despondent and even perverse."<sup>4</sup> Doughty died in abject poverty, abandoned by his patrons and haunted by his critics. He has since been a 'shadowy' figure in the literature of American art history. While his stature as a landscape painter may never be equal to that of Thomas Cole, Asher B. Durand or Frederic Church, at its best his work reveals an uncommon sensitivity to the peculiar qualities of the American landscape.

Thomas Doughty was born in Philadelphia on July 19, 1793, one of five sons of James and Mary Young Doughty. The origins of the Doughty family are unknown. The records of the Second Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia reveal that James Doughty, a ship carpenter working in Southwark, Philadelphia, married Margaret Young on February 6, 1772. The oldest son, William, distinguished himself early in life as a naval draftsmen, including in his work designs for the frigates Constitution and President.<sup>5</sup> Doughty's three other brothers all followed different vocations: James operated an apothecary shop, John's name was listed in the Philadelphia directories as a 'hardware merchant' and Samuel was variously called a 'leather currier' and 'mariner'. Thus, it appears that Thomas Doughty's inclination to paint landscapes had no family roots, although his brother, William, twenty years Thomas'

senior, had been trained as a draftsman. It was William who consistently encouraged and supported his younger brother's artistic bent; a large collection of Thomas' landscapes hung in William Doughty's family house in Georgetown, D.C.

Virtually nothing is known about Doughty's childhood education. William Dunlap in his *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States* (1834) recorded Doughty's brief autobiographical remark that:

the only instructions I ever received, were, I may say almost in my childhood at a most excellent school: our master used to allow those boys who evinced any talents for drawing, one afternoon in each week to practice, but without the aid of a master.<sup>7</sup>

The inference of this remark confirms other published statements that Doughty exhibited a marked ability for drawing from an early age.

Doughty's education followed the accepted pattern of working class tradesmen of the early nineteenth century in America. He recorded that:

At the age of fifteen or sixteen, I was put out with a younger brother [Samuel] to learn the 'leather business,' at which I served a regular apprenticeship, and pursued the business a few years afterwards."<sup>8</sup>

Doughty's name first appeared in the 1814 Philadelphia city directory where he was listed as a 'currier' working in partnership with his brother, Samuel, at 237 North Third Street. The partnership lasted less than two years; by 1816 Samuel Doughty was listed in the directories as a 'mariner', and Thomas as a 'painter' residing at 16 Pennsylvania Avenue, Philadelphia. Evidently, Doughty forsook the leather business for as long as two years to follow the profession of a full-time artist. A special exhibition at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in May, 1816, included a painting, *Landscape-original*, by Doughty. In that 1816 exhibition the preponderance of works exhibited naturally heavily leaned toward portraiture and history painting, including Washington Allston's monumental *Dead Man Revived by Touching the Bones of the Prophet Elisha* seen in Philadelphia for the first time, but Doughty would have had the opportunity to view landscapes by Jan Van Goyen, Jacob Ruisdael and Gaspard Poussin in the same galleries. Perhaps the fact that he emphasized the word 'original' in the title of his first landscape composition exhibited at the Pennsylvania Academy indicates that he learned to paint landscapes by making copies of European landscapes that he may have seen at the Pennsylvania Academy. None of Doughty's pre-1820 work is now located.

It appears that Doughty's initial attempt to establish himself as a landscape painter in Philadelphia met with little public encouragement. From 1818 to 1819 Doughty was again listed in the Philadelphia

directories as a 'leather currier' located at 31 Elfreth's Alley. It is more than likely that he continued to paint during these years. However, not only did he strongly repudiate the leather trade, but felt that "in all probability my condition in life would be bettered"<sup>9</sup> by pursuing a career as an artist. Realizing "a dull and gloomy prospect as regarded pecuniary remuneration,"<sup>10</sup> and acting contrary to the advice of "all my friends,"<sup>11</sup> Doughty finally resolved to become a full-time professional landscape painter in 1820. His name appeared in the 1820 Philadelphia city directory as a 'Landscape painter, Germ. r. ab. 3d.'

About 1817 Doughty must have married; his wife's name is not recorded in any surviving family or church documents. Late in life he supported five children, and the burial records of the Second Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia record the tragic infant deaths of three others—Sarah, John and James—between 1823 and 1827. One art critic writing late in Doughty's life felt that Doughty's burden of support for his large family adversely affected the quality of his work:

He commenced painting with the feeling that God made the world, and all things therein. He was filled with the power of this feeling, and he made it felt in his pictures which are full of the beauty of thought and feeling.

If he had pursued art with the pure love of nature, which first impelled him to produce a picture, he would have been unequalled in the representation of nature; but like too many persons of great and genial hearts, he married at a very early age, and soon found himself called upon for the support of a large family. He has painted too much—too hastily. The wants of his little ones spurred him on too fast.<sup>12</sup>

It has been generally agreed on by art scholars and other informed writers of the early nineteenth century that Doughty was a self-trained artist. He himself wrote to William Dunlap that he "had never received any instruction in oils",<sup>13</sup> and that, in addition to his childhood training in drawing, the:

other and only opportunity that ever occurred, was in the latter part of my apprenticeship, when I received one quarter's tuition at a night school in drawing in 'India ink'.<sup>14</sup>

Without a formal period of training either in Europe or America, Doughty relied on other learning methods, traditional to American artists of the early nineteenth century, to perfect his painting skills. He copied 'old master' landscapes, and learned from the advice of other living artists. Rembrandt Peale noted that Doughty learned to paint landscapes by copying European examples in the collection of his early patron, Robert Gilmor, Jr. of Baltimore. Gilmor's collection included landscapes by Nicholas Poussin, Salvator Rosa, Cornelius Poelenburgh, Richard Wilson, Albert Cuyp, Jacob Ruisdael and Jan Wynants.<sup>15</sup> Peale was confident enough of Doughty's ability to draw and paint that he recommended

him to Thomas Jefferson in 1825 for the position of art instructor at the University of Virginia.<sup>16</sup> E. Anna Lewis, writing in *Graham's American Monthly* (1854) noted that early in life Doughty:

made the acquaintance of [Thomas] Sully, and received much benefit from the society and advice of this truly eminent artist.<sup>17</sup>

Sully remained a life-long friend and supporter of Doughty's.

The role assumed by the newly instituted Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in the training of young artists in Philadelphia in the early nineteenth century should not be understated, but, at the same time, existing documents do not clarify the teaching relationship between the institution and the artists, nor do the documents include attendance roles. Doughty may have attended the 'Life Academy' instituted at the Academy in 1813, although his autobiographical notes to Dunlap do not mention any such attendance. Clearly, he profited from viewing works in the Academy's Annuals, as well as in its permanent collection. He associated himself closely with the Pennsylvania Academy in the 1820's; in 1824 he was elected a Pennsylvania Academician, and in 1828 signed a Memorial of the Artists of Philadelphia addressed to the Directors of the Pennsylvania Academy, a petition outlining the grievances of many local artists with the new Academy. One of these grievances revolved around the inaccessibility of the Academy's study room to the artists, another that books and prints in the Academy's library were not regularly available for the artists' use. To what extent Doughty used these materials to improve his skills as a painter remains conjecture. The fact that he signed the petition suggests that he valued, and used, the Academy's facilities.

Instructional manuals on landscape painting afforded the landscape artist an opportunity to study basic illustrated lessons on line, composition, color, light and shadow, and perspective. Thomas Cole recorded in 1820 that Mr. Stein:

lent me an English work on painting (I have forgotten its title), it was illustrated with engravings, and treated of design, composition, and color. This book was my companion day and night, nothing could separate us...<sup>18</sup>

Doughty was undoubtedly familiar with such manuals, but no specific titles can be associated with him.

By the mid-1820's Cole was able to report that in his execution of "small, but accurate studies of single objects; a tree, a leafless bough"<sup>19</sup> he had found the "right path" to pursuing his development as a landscape painter. Asher B. Durand in his *Letters on Landscape Painting* later echoed identical sentiments to Cole's that a young painter ought to "enter... the Studio of Nature"<sup>20</sup> rather than learn to paint from manuals, or in another artist's studio. John G. Chapman in his *American Drawing Book* (1847) aptly phrased the same feeling:

one group of weeds, by the road-side, or along the murmuring brook, will teach them more wholesome lessons of the 'way to draw them', than all the books that ever were published on the subject... Drawing is not to be taught like tambour-stitch and crochet.<sup>21</sup>

Doughty was an inveterate nature sketcher. One poetic critic wrote:

From his earliest boyhood he loved the woods, the streams, the hills and the valleys. He dwelt with them—he felt their power—he made them his study and delight.<sup>22</sup>

Thomas Sully's *Journals* of the mid-1820's record numerous joint outings along the Schuylkill River on which occasions Doughty sketched the scenery. Later in his career Doughty made frequent sketching trips into the Adirondacks and Catskills, along the northern coasts of Massachusetts, through Maine and New Hampshire. Alvan Fisher recorded that he and Chester Harding "frequently visited Thompson's Tavern in North Conway, N.H., on sketching trips along with Thomas Doughty."<sup>23</sup> The three artists were close friends.

Doughty was a resident of Philadelphia during the first eight years of his artistic career. He numbered among his close friends Thomas Sully, John Neagle and Cephas Childs, the former two portraitists, the latter an engraver who not only patronized the work of his friend, but made handsome colored engravings after his landscapes. From 1826 to 1828 both Doughty and Childs lived at 45 Sansom Street in close proximity to the English landscapists Joshua Shaw and Samuel Scarlett. Scarlett operated an art shop where Doughty bought his supplies; several original canvas backs of early Doughty landscapes are stamped "Sam'l Scarlett Philada".

The taste of the time called for realistic landscapes. Cole lamented that the public preferred "things not thoughts", a specificity to which Cole was unwilling to bend in order to increase his sales. Doughty's predilection, on the other hand, to detailed observations of nature was more in the public's taste. His early views of gentleman's country seats, and important public buildings like the Fairmount Waterworks in Philadelphia, were highly prized landscape portraits, not mechanical imitations, but free of excessive imaginings, after originals not ideals. This work was admired for its 'truth to nature', even after his less sophisticated public failed to realize that his compositions became standard formulas.

In my opinion, Doughty's landscapes of the period 1822 to 1830 are his most successful, and at the same time show the most variety of treatment. His titles are inspired from scenery taken throughout eastern Pennsylvania, Delaware, Connecticut, Massachusetts and upstate New York. His paintings dwell on the natural beauties of the American scene—thundering cataracts, placid lakes encircled by heavily wooded hills, sparkling streams and rivers, and distant vistas, often gloriously lit in morning or evening light. Yet, it is unfair to characterize Doughty's work of this period, or any period for that

matter, as exclusively pure or topographical landscape painting. It is for this type of landscape that he is generally known, yet his inspiration extended in many directions and his style of painting varied in accordance with his subjects. He painted ideal Italianizing landscape compositions derived from the classical landscape tradition, notably of Claude Lorraine, landscapes inspired from contemporary American literature<sup>24</sup> and English travel books,<sup>25</sup> violent, stormy scenery that revealed the destructive forces of nature, romantic, imaginary or fanciful scenes replete with classical references, popular subjects like the falls of Niagara, winter scenery, rainbows, sunsets and sunrises and pastoral views that often include hunters and fisherman.

Doughty left Philadelphia in the late summer of 1828, and was settled in Boston by the winter of 1829. His intentions to travel abroad in 1828<sup>26</sup> never materialized, probably due to a lack of money; his move to Boston was made in hopes of finding a better market for his paintings. This so-called "experiment" proved unrewarding. He found Boston's winters far too cold and "fickle" to his liking, and the city more expensive to live in. He missed his friends in Philadelphia, and in his early letters home determined to return to Philadelphia by the fall of 1829. He busied himself by preparing "a squad of pictures" for the Athenaeum Gallery's spring exhibition; he exhibited nineteen new paintings in each of the 1829 and 1830 Athenaeum exhibits.

That he extended his stay in Boston may have resulted from his introduction to the lithographers John and William Pendleton who had opened Boston's first lithographic shop in 1825. Doughty's residence at Graphic Court made him a neighbor of the firm, and in his letters to Cephas Childs he spoke fondly of the two brothers. The records of the Pendleton firm do not include Doughty's name as one of the more than two dozen artists who worked for the firm.<sup>27</sup> It seems likely, however, that Doughty informally learned enough about lithographic processes from the Pendletons to be able to execute his own lithographs by late 1830.<sup>28</sup>

His return to Philadelphia in the fall of 1830 had one tangible purpose, the publication of a monthly magazine, *The Cabinet of Natural History and American Rural Sports*, that he edited with his brother John between 1830 and 1832. *The Cabinet* contained lengthy historical accounts of many animals and birds indigenous to North America, and was liberally illustrated with detailed colored lithographs designed to pictorially show off the animal or bird under discussion in the text. While rather simple plates, they do indicate that Thomas Doughty made a close, even scientific, study of certain animal and bird species. The majority of the plates in *The Cabinet* are hand colored lithographs that bear the inscription "From nature and on stone by T. Doughty.—from Childs and Inman's Press." Interestingly, an editor's remark in *The Cabinet*, that almost assuredly can be attributed to Thomas Doughty, provides an insight into Doughty's philosophy of landscape painting:

Even the fine arts, though generally considered as peculiarly appertaining to the domain of imagination, greatly depend upon a knowledge of Natural History.<sup>29</sup>

Always a close observer of nature, Doughty, nonetheless, shared the prevailing sentiments of other artists who scorned servile imitation of nature without a reordering of natural elements to suit the artist's purpose.

Doughty's painting activity virtually ceased during the years he spent working on *The Cabinet*. When it failed, he returned to Boston. The five years from 1832 to 1837 when he lived in Boston were Doughty's most productive and, for him, most lucrative. His close friends were again portraitists, Chester Harding and Francis Alexander, and the landscapist, Alvan Fisher. It was during this period that he became famous for his sketching trips into the White Mountains of New Hampshire, into the Catskills and along the coasts of Massachusetts and Maine. He created many exceptional landscapes during this period for which he is now known (*Fanciful Landscape*, 1834 no. 28; *In Nature's Wonderland*, 1835, no. 32; *In the Catskills*, 1836, no. 33), but in my opinion his earlier strengths are lost in hasty sketching and monotonous compositions. It was during this period that he began the habit of painting multiple versions of the same painting with only minor changes. It is my feeling that during this Boston period Doughty painted landscapes that he thought would have greater popular selling appeal, and became less concerned about his own development.

Doughty supplemented his income by offering lessons in painting to the citizens of Boston. He advertised in the *Boston Evening Transcript* that:

The following branches will be taught, viz: Landscape in Oils and Water Colors, Pencil Drawing, Drawing on stone, Flowers, Fruit, etc., etc.

The *Transcript* advertisement suggests that Doughty was a more versatile painter than he actually was. A fruit and flower still life attributed to Doughty is the only known departure from the over four hundred and fifty landscapes that he exhibited during his life.<sup>30</sup>

Doughty's teaching methods were described by one of his students, Sophia Peabody:

Then the painter Doughty came to Boston and opened a school of painting. He gave lessons by making his pupils look on while he was painting; and then they would take canvases and, in his absence, imitate what they had seen him do; and then he would come and paint some more on his picture; but he never explained anything or answered questions.<sup>31</sup>

Whether he had any serious art students who later were recognized for their abilities is unknown. His son, Thomas Doughty, Jr., a landscape and genre painter, probably worked with his father. It is recorded that Thomas, Jr. later studied in London with Dante Gabriel Rosetti at Cary's Drawing Academy.<sup>32</sup>

At the age of forty-four, seventeen years after he became a full-time professional artist, Doughty's long overdue intentions to travel abroad were finally realized. Whether he would have been a better artist if he had been afforded the opportunity to travel abroad at an earlier age must remain conjecture. As a mature artist at the zenith of his career, it is difficult to say exactly what it was that Doughty wanted out of his foreign travel. Perhaps he just wanted to see first hand what other artist friends of his had known for a long time. The trip was a momentus one—he could not afford it for one thing,<sup>33</sup> and the prospects of selling any paintings abroad were unsubstantiated, if not slim.

Doughty settled at 4 Grafton Street, Fitzroy Square in London with his family in the fall of 1837. His old friend, Thomas Sully, was in London at the same time, and the two Americans, often with George P. A. Healy and John James Audubon, frequently got together for dinner. Sully's *Journal* records that Doughty was continually ill, and therefore unable to paint as much as he would have wanted to. What he did paint, as recorded in the exhibition records of the British Institution and the Society of British Artists, is rather surprising. The majority of his first English period landscapes are American scenes from "recollection" or from sketches brought with him to England. He seems to have painted very little in the way of local English scenery.

Doughty's first trip abroad may have been curtailed by bad health or by a lack of money. In any case, he was back in New York by May of 1838. New York City, the winter haven for American landscape painters of the mid-nineteenth century, was to remain the focus of his activity for the remainder of his life.

Unlike Cole, Doughty seemed to have admired the school of early nineteenth century English picturesque landscape painting although which, if any, English landscapists he might have particularly admired is unrecorded. Many of his post 1838 landscapes reveal the influences of the English picturesque landscape school. His work of this period becomes more painterly and his palette, stressing tonal values rather than a variety of colors, becomes darker and more restrained. His scenery loses its expansive quality, and much of its brilliant lighting, characteristics of the American school. Except for notable landscapes like *Autumn on the Hudson* (no. 49) his paintings seem to lose their 'American' quality, and become mannered contrivances that lack the expressive quality of his early work. He struggled with the scenery of the mighty Hudson River, finding its massive scale incompatible with his small compositions. His summer residences at Fishkill Landing and Newburgh on the Hudson produced a pathetic number of second rate canvases. These he continued to exhibit regularly at the Apollo Association and American Art Union and at the National Academy of Design, but his sales decreased and with them his prices. He bitterly lashed out at the critics who increasingly found unacceptable

weaknesses in his work, claiming that "there is a disposition by a certain 'clique' to bolster up *certain* artists at the expense of all others."<sup>34</sup> Coupled with his poor health and waning powers as an artist, Doughty's own mental vision of this 'conspiracy' fed upon itself.

The records of the later years of Doughty's life are meager. He traveled considerably. In the summer of 1841 he painted in the area of Albany, New York. The following summer he visited his brother, Colonel William Doughty, in Georgetown, D. C., and in 1843 was in Boston. *The Daily Picayune* of New Orleans<sup>35</sup> recorded the presence of Doughty in that city in the winter of 1844, noting an exhibition at Mr. Casey's Music Saloon of "pictures which are as beautiful as are the thousand little nooks hid away in every valley of the hills of New England."<sup>36</sup> Doughty's visit to New Orleans in 1844 appears to be the only trip he ever took into the South. Undoubtedly during this visit, Doughty met the local collector, James Robb, who owned at least six of his oils, including two landscapes after Albert Cuyp, a copy of Claude's *Embarkation of the Queen of Sheba*, and a view of Lake George.

From the fall of 1845 to the spring of 1847 Doughty was abroad again, first in London and then in Paris. In London he lived at 3 Park Place, Regent's Park. From existing exhibition records at the British Institution and the Society of British Artists, it appears that he painted local English scenery to a greater degree than on his previous English trip. In 1845 he exhibited the first of three versions of *Windsor Castle*, a painting that is now unlocated, but which probably was similar to the later version included in the current exhibition. To what extent he traveled in England is unknown; a *Scene on the Blackwater River, Ireland from a sketch* exhibited at the British Institution in 1846 suggests that he may have made a trip to Ireland. In a departure of another kind, he exhibited two paintings whose titles, *American Summer, or Wood Duck, Male—from nature* and *American Red-tailed Hawk—*Falco Borealis**, suggest a genre, bird painting, that was previously unfamiliar to him in oils. Neither of these paintings have been located.

By 1846 Doughty was living in Paris. It is known that he frequently visited the Louvre Museum to make copies of paintings in the Louvre collection. Whether these copies were commissions or simply the artist's way of understanding another painter's work is now open to speculation. During this period, Doughty was painting very little in the way of new compositions, relying heavily on making replicas of existing paintings. It seems curious to me that Doughty chose Paris as his place of residence in the mid-1840's. While it is true that other American painters were studying in Paris at the same time, they, unlike Doughty, were primarily portraitists and history painters. Although the craze that brought Albert Bierstadt, William Trost Richards and Worthington Whittredge to study at the Dusseldorf Academy in the mid-1850's had not hit, the great majority of American landscapists of this period had their eyes fixed on studying landscape painting in Italy, and not in Paris. While neither documents nor

surviving paintings help to establish the extent of Doughty's peregrinations on the continent, it seems highly improbable that he could have resisted the urge to travel to the sunny climes of Italy, about which he had read and heard so much.

As he had done ten years earlier, Doughty returned to settle in New York City in 1848 where he spent the winters, traveling about during the summers in search of new scenery for his paintings. He spent the summer of 1849 with his family in Huntington South, Long Island. In 1850 and 1851 he rented a house in Hoboken, New Jersey. His paintings during these later years show a marked decline, no doubt a result of his failing health and impoverished condition. Many of them are hastily sketched, unresolved compositions that lack the forceful quality of his earlier work. He was no longer the attentive student of nature, but a struggling artist, bitter over his failures, jealous of his younger peers' successes.

Perhaps as a last ditch effort to recover some of his old strength he moved his family in the fall of 1852 to Owego, New York, on the banks of the Susquehanna River, territory familiar to him from his youthful days, and as one anonymous critic writing for *The Crayon* later claimed "his true domain nowhere more pleasingly expressed than by this great American painter." Away from the slights of the city, he produced his last paintings of any merit. He seemed content in Owego; his letters take on a more sprightly, optimistic tone of an artist who is forward looking, and not pondering his past troubles. In Owego he painted a series of paintings of the four seasons; *Early Winter* (no. 52) and *Spring Landscape* (no. 53) are two of this series.

The last years of his life were spent in New York City. From late 1853 to his death in 1856, he virtually did not paint. *The Crayon* in May, 1856, recorded Doughty in "absolute want",<sup>37</sup> and backed an effort to organize an exhibition of his works to raise money for him. It probably was of no avail. He died at the age of sixty-three on July 24, 1856.

As a pioneer in the development of a native American landscape tradition, Doughty remains an important figure. His sylvan compositions portraying the American scene in a direct and affectionate way introduced, and helped popularize, the genre of landscape painting in America. He was not the greatest painter of landscape in early nineteenth century America, but through his work he made that of his successors more acceptable. It would be wrong to overestimate his overall influence and accomplishments. However, he did manage in his lifetime to capture in oil the "natural radiance"<sup>38</sup> of the American landscape. Thomas Doughty's painting embodied both the visual and spiritual reality of early nineteenth century America. His was the domain of pastoral America—the wooded hills tinted in autumnal color, the quiet brook and glimmering lake, the open pasture and brilliant sky—, and he expressed its glories with a deep compassion.

# Catalogue of the Exhibition

The dimensions are in inches, height preceding width. l.r. and l.l. are used for lower right and lower left. An asterisk (\*) indicates the work is exhibited only at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts.

1. *VIEW OF BALTIMORE FROM BEECH HILL,  
THE SEAT OF ROBERT GILMOR, JR.*  
Oil on wood panel, 13 x 16 $\frac{3}{4}$   
Illegible signature l.r.; inscribed on back:  
Baltimore from the seat of R. Gilmor, Esq. Painted  
November,  
1822 by T. Doughty  
Lent by The Baltimore Museum of Art,  
Gift of Dr. and Mrs. Michael A. Abrams\*

On the back of a letter from Thomas Doughty to Robert Gilmor, Jr., the latter noted that Doughty "painted several pictures for me, among them two views from my county seat, Beech Hill."<sup>39</sup> This is the smaller of those two views; the other is in the M. and M. Karolik Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. In a letter to Gilmor, a wealthy Baltimore merchant who liberally patronized many American artists, and whose European collection included landscapes by Nicholas Poussin, Albert Cuyp, Richard Wilson, George Morland and Nicholas Berchem, Doughty wrote in reference to these views: "I have done my utmost in the execution of them and hope they will give you satisfaction . . . As I am in immediate want of money I will ask as a particular favor to you to let me have the cash for them as soon as you can on receiving the paintings. . ."<sup>40</sup> Gilmor later noted in a letter to Thomas Cole that he paid fifty dollars each for his early paintings by Doughty, and that he had been forced to give away "almost all the pictures I had of Doughty for want of a place for them."<sup>41</sup>

*View of Baltimore from Beech Hill* is one of Doughty's earliest paintings, completed only two years after he took up painting as a full-time profession. Its composition and overall effect is reminiscent of George Beck's, *Baltimore from Howard's Park*, 1796 owned by the Maryland Historical Society. Beck's death in 1812 precludes the likelihood that Doughty ever knew him although he may have been familiar with this painting.

2. *LEHIGH COAL AND NAVIGATION COMPANY*  
Wash drawing on paper, 5 x 7 $\frac{7}{8}$   
Signed l.l.: Doughty Del  
c. 1822  
Lent by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania  
Shortly after its completion, this drawing was engraved by Cephas G. Childs, a Philadelphia engraver and close friend of Doughty's, for the stock certificate of the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company.
3. *LANDSCAPE WITH CURVING RIVER*  
Oil on canvas, 18 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 27 $\frac{1}{2}$   
Unsigned  
c. 1823  
Lent by the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts,  
Bequest of Henry C. Carey, 1879  
Doughty's inherent predisposition to the quieter, less heroical moods of nature, to intimate, sometimes sentimental, compositions, often yielded to dramatically composed scenes with brilliant color and light. Though almost never as frenzied or tortured as the "sublime" landscapes of Thomas Cole, their passages of dramatic natural phenomena, combined with a pleasing verity of nature as in *Landscape with Curving River*, resulted in paintings that were more attuned to the tastes of early nineteenth century art patrons in America. *Landscape with Curving River* is one of three paintings by Doughty owned by the Philadelphia collector, Edward L. Carey (1806-1845), that was bequeathed to the Pennsylvania Academy by his brother in 1879.
4. *LANDSCAPE WITH POOL*  
Oil on canvas, 18 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 25 $\frac{1}{2}$   
Unsigned  
c. 1823  
Lent by the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts,  
Bequest of Henry C. Carey, 1879  
This may be the painting that Doughty exhibited in 1823 at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts under the title *Landscape, Duck Shooting*. The fact that Doughty always introduced figures into his landscapes may have resulted from the tastes of his early patron, Robert Gilmor,

Jr. Undoubtedly, Gilmor's advice to Doughty in this respect corresponded to the sentiments he expressed in a letter to Thomas Cole: "I differ, however, with you in approving the omission of figures, which always give character & spirit even to solitariness itself . . . an Indian Hunter judiciously introduced even in shadow behind a tree, with a catching light or a red plume or mantle with his rifle levelled, & one or two deer crossing an open space, would not defeat your object, but rather assist the idea of solitude . . . The idea of a *red* plume or mantle suggested itself to me, by an observation of [George] Morelands' [sic], who always introduced he said something red into his pictures, as it had the happiest effects."<sup>42</sup>

5. *CAROLINA SWAMP*

Oil on canvas, 25 x 36

Signed and dated l.r.: Doughty/1825

Private Collection

No documentary evidence exists to substantiate whether Doughty ever traveled as far south as the Carolinas by 1825. An engraving simply entitled *Lake Scene* after this painting was published in Carey and Lea's *The Atlantic Souvenir* for 1828. A similar engraving by George B. Ellis is entitled *Schuylkill*. Doughty's early topographical views were often published in popular handbooks and magazines of the nineteenth century under different titles.

6. *IN FULL CRY*

Oil on canvas, 25 x 36

Signed l.r.: T. Doughty

c.1825

Private Collection

Throughout his life, Doughty was an enthusiastic hunter and fisherman whose love of sport was often reflected in his landscapes. The exhibition records of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts reveal an early tendency to paint sporting scenes—sportsmen in search of game, duck shooting and solitary hunters with their dog. Generally, these figures and animals were crudely conceived, prompting one critic to remark ". . . we think him always unsuccessful in the introduction of animals into his pictures. It is evident that he has not made that particular

department of art his study. . . . He should adopt the practice of ancient artists, and employ others whose peculiar excellence lies in sketching these subsidiary points of the picture; thus preserving the harmony and beauty of his productions entire."<sup>43</sup>

7.

*VIEW OF THE WATER WORKS ON SCHUYLKILL—  
SEEN FROM THE TOP OF FAIR MOUNT*

Oil on canvas, 16 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 24

Signed and dated l.r.: Doughty/1826

Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Joseph N. DuBarry, IV

As early as 1822, the year the Fairmount Waterworks were completed from the designs of Frederick C. Graff, Doughty exhibited a painting of that subject, *View of the Improvements on the River Schuylkill, at Fair Mount*, at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. In the 1824 Pennsylvania Academy annual he exhibited *Landscape—Fair Mount Water Works, seen from Opposite shore*, a similar title to his later 1826 view included in the current exhibition. This painting was exhibited at the Academy in 1827. The Fairmount Waterworks was a favorite place among Philadelphians to promenade and admire the picturesque scenery of the Schuylkill River.

8.

*FAIRMOUNT WATERWORKS*

Wash drawing on paper, 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$

Unsigned

1826

Lent by The Historical Society of Pennsylvania

Preliminary wash drawings and pencil sketches that were made as preparatory studies for larger oil canvases are rare survivals of Doughty's oeuvre. This drawing is similar to a *View of Fair Mount Water Works, Seen from the Opposite side of Schuylkill* (no. 9) that Doughty exhibited at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in 1827. That Doughty was in the habit of making preparatory studies, not of single trees, rocks or clouds as much as full views, is well documented. Thomas Sully recorded in his *Journal* that "Doughty and myself walked to Dr. Tidyman's at Germantown, took breakfast with the family . . . —repaired in the Dr.'s carriage with himself and Dr. Meese to Springmill on the Schuylkill, where Doughty made a drawing."<sup>44</sup>

9. *VIEW OF FAIR MOUNT WATER WORKS, SEEN FROM THE OPPOSITE SIDE OF SCHUYLKILL*

Oil on canvas, 16 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 24

Signed and dated l.r.: Doughty/1826

Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Joseph N. DuBarry, IV

The finished version of this view differs considerably with the preliminary wash drawing (no. 8). In the painting, Doughty has balanced its composition by framing the distant Waterworks, seen at a greater distance, with trees placed in an expanded foreground. He has reduced the effect of the rounded cumulus clouds seen in the drawing to flatter, less distinct clouds in the painting.

10. *DELAWARE WATER GAP*

Oil on canvas, 18 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 27 $\frac{1}{2}$

Signed and dated l.l.: T. Doughty/1826

Private Collection

The area known as the Delaware Water Gap in northeastern Pennsylvania became a favorite haunt of Doughty's in the mid-1820's. The reduced scale of the landscape, less monumental than what the artist was to experience years later on the Hudson River, was more appropriate to Doughty's small, intimate conceptions of nature. The detailed foliage, varied and unmannered, and the gnarled tree limbs, rocks and grasses in the foreground of this painting "had the very impress of being after *originals*, not ideals,"<sup>45</sup> a quality greatly admired by early patrons of landscape painting in America. Doughty's early landscapes rarely transcended to symbolic statements about the perfectibility of nature as God's creation, but still managed to lift and enoble the subject. Doughty exhibited this painting at the National Academy of Design in 1827.

11. *ON THE BEACH*

Oil on canvas, 35 x 51 $\frac{4}{5}$

Signed and dated l.l.: T. Doughty/1827-8

Lent by the Albany Institute of History and Art

Doughty exhibited *Landscape, Fishermen drawing their Nets & a composition* at the Pennsylvania Academy in 1827. That reference may be to this painting although it would indicate that he painted on it after 1827 since it is dated

1827-8. The exact location of the scene has not been determined, but it appears to be a view in the Adirondack Mountains. Doughty's landscapes of the late 1820's take on a fuller sense of the power and majesty of nature—its thundering cataracts, windswept skies and wild, distant vistas combine in a more forceful statement of nature's sublime qualities. The introduction of animals into this painting is one of his most successful. A contemporary critic commenting on his cattle appropriately remarked: "The cattle of Mr. [Alvan] Fisher—the cattle whereof so much has been said—are not great things, if I may judge from two or three groups that I saw; and yet they are superior to any that I have seen by our native cattle-breeders, if I except a few of the Doughty-stock produced at Philadelphia, by breeding in—and—in with the [Albert] Cuyp-stock, and showing them off in a Cuyp-atmosphere."<sup>46</sup>

12. *THE NAVAL HOME, GRAY'S FERRY, PHILADELPHIA*

Oil on panel, 23 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 36 $\frac{1}{2}$

Signed and dated lower center: Doughty/1828

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,

M. and M. Karolik Collection

This view of the Naval Home, designed by William Strickland, and built between 1827 and 1833, was one of the last canvases Doughty painted in Philadelphia prior to his departure to Boston in the summer of 1828. It is one of Doughty's last paintings in which an architectural monument plays such a dominant role. Unlike Cole's early topographical commissions in which the landscape often dominated over the architecture, Doughty's treatment of similar commissions almost always stressed the architectural elements seen at close range with the landscape subordinated to it.

13. *LANDSCAPE—SPORTSMEN FISHING*

Oil on canvas, 25 x 20 $\frac{7}{8}$

Signed and dated l.r.: T. Doughty/1828

Private Collection

As early as 1826, Doughty was being criticized for his compositions on the grounds that they "have now so much uniformity of manner in them that they excite no

longer the same agreeable feelings in me that his very earliest sketches did."<sup>47</sup> This is one of Doughty's most original compositions, combining diverse elements of nature rather than repeating a single view. Unfortunately, it is not a composition that he returned to frequently. Consistent with the later advice of Asher B. Durand in his *Letters on Landscape Painting*, Doughty has skillfully managed "to select, combine and set off the varied beauty of nature" while avoiding the servile imitation of natural elements and, at the other extreme, excessive artistic mannerisms. He has used nature as a positive expressive force, as a place to escape from the turmoil of the city to find solace and enjoyment.

14. *VIEW NEAR HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT*

Oil on canvas, 16 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 24

Inscribed on reverse: View near Hartford, Ct.,  
painted by T. Doughty, 1828

Lent by the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts,  
Gift of Cephas G. Childs, 1828

Cephas G. Childs, the donor of this painting to the Pennsylvania Academy in 1828, was a close friend of Thomas Doughty's and engraved many of his paintings for use as illustrations in travel handbooks and popular magazines of the nineteenth century. Between 1826 and the summer of 1828, Doughty and Childs lived at 45 Sansom Street, Philadelphia, in an area heavily populated by artists. During his early years as an artist in Philadelphia, Doughty traveled to New England during the summers in search of picturesque scenery and pleasant resort spas.

15. *VIEW ON THE SUSQUEHANNA NEAR HARRISBURG*

Oil on canvas, 18 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 27 $\frac{1}{2}$

Unsigned  
c.1828-1830

Lent by the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts,  
No acquisition record, 1844

Doughty frequently turned to river and lake scenery as subject matter for his paintings. He was especially fond of the broad expanses of the Susquehanna River; during the twilight of his years he settled in Owego, New York on the banks of the Susquehanna. He then remarked in a letter to

a friend: "The Valley of the Susquehanna is truly beautiful even when winter is upon us. In summer it must be magnificent! How fortunate for a landscape painter to begin and end his days here."<sup>48</sup> Doughty's method of outlining the composition of his landscapes in ink or pencil on the canvas prior to painting is clearly evident in this picture.

16.

*GIRLS CROSSING THE BROOK*

Oil on canvas, 23 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 30

Signed and dated 1.1.: Doughty/1829; inscribed on stretcher: Painted by T. Doughty / Boston. March 1829  
Private Collection

Doughty was settled in Boston by March of 1829 when this painting was completed. He had moved there presumably in hopes of finding a better market for his work, but his expectations of increased sales never materialized. He wrote to his friend Cephas Childs in Philadelphia: "The winter has been uncommonly severe and money scarce. Consequently pictures have not been in demand. It is more than probable that my residence here will terminate possibly about September."<sup>49</sup> In actuality, Doughty did not return to Philadelphia until the fall of 1830. While in Boston he continued to exhibit at the Pennsylvania Academy; in 1829 he exhibited seven paintings at the Academy, including a landscape after Claude Lorraine and an untitled landscape copied from a colored aquatint that appeared in Thomas and William Daniell's *A Picturesque Voyage to India by the way of China*, published in London in 1810. Doughty had exhibited landscapes after Daniell's *Picturesque Voyage* as early as 1825. In 1830 he sent twelve landscapes to the Academy's exhibition, including *Girls Crossing the Brook*.

17.

*A SWISS SCENE*

Oil on canvas, 18 x 24

Signed and dated 1.1. center: Doughty/1829  
Lent by Mrs. Leeds A. Wheeler

One of his first flights into pure fanciful landscape, far removed from the prose of nature, this painting probably derives from one of the numerous European romantic novels popular in America in the early nineteenth century. Doughty relied on literary sources, notably of the Ameri-

can authors James Fenimore Cooper and Washington Irving, as inspiration for a handful of his imaginary paintings. Shrouded in the eerie light of dark cliffs, a cavalier bends to kiss the hand of a maiden. A narrow bridge over cascading falls leads to a 'gothick' castle, overpowered by the sharp peaks of distant mountains. This painting was first owned by Josiah Quincy, Mayor of Boston from 1823 to 1829, when he was inaugurated President of Harvard College.

18. *LANDSCAPE*  
Oil on panel, 14 $\frac{3}{8}$  x 20 $\frac{3}{8}$   
Signed and dated lower center: Doughty/1829  
Lent by the Delaware Art Museum  
Again, as in so many of his landscapes, Doughty has placed a solitary figure in the midst of a vast expanse of wooded hills and lakes. The sense of spaciousness, of nature undefiled by man's civilization, is omnipresent in this painting. American artists and men of letters of the early nineteenth century constantly reminded their public of "the majesty and loveliness of nature [no where] more strikingly conspicuous than in America,"<sup>50</sup> and of the unique quality of their landscape.

19. *MORNING AMONG THE HILLS*  
Oil on canvas, 15 x 21  
Signed and dated l.r.: T. Doughty/1829-30  
Lent by the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts,  
Bequest of Henry C. Carey, 1879  
In the late 1820's Doughty's palette took on a greater range of colors, notably brilliant pinks tinged with soft grays and pale blues. He used these colors, often reflected in a quiet pool of water, to unify his compositions. Henry D. Gilpin, in an address delivered at the Pennsylvania Academy in 1826, touched on this color enrichment of his landscapes in acclaiming, "the rising genius of Doughty, who, following the example of Claude, is giving to the canvass [sic] the rich scenes of his country."<sup>51</sup> Doughty experimented with the use of atmospheric coloring in the classical tradition in the late 1820's without strictly adopting the standard symbols of classicism. During this period he exhibited two landscapes after Claude Lorraine at the Pennsylvania Academy.

20. *VIEW FROM STACEY HILL, STODDARD, NEW HAMPSHIRE*  
Oil on canvas, 22 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 30 $\frac{1}{4}$   
Inscribed and dated on back: T. Doughty/1830  
Lent by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston  
M. and M. Karolik Collection  
Doughty often raised the angle of sight in the foreground of his early panoramic views to create a greater sense of the spaciousness of his scenery. The frequent references to man's world adds a touch of realism to this rural New England scene.

21. *WINTER LANDSCAPE*  
Oil on canvas, 13 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 19 $\frac{1}{2}$   
Signed and dated l.r.: T. Doughty/1830  
Lent by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston  
M. and M. Karolik Collection  
Doughty was not unfamiliar with painting the effects of a snowy winter landscape by 1830 when this painting was completed. *Winter Landscape* is a tour de force in color—the white, icy snow tinged with pink highlights reflected from the brilliant pink clouds and blue sky contrasted by the deep greens and browns of the trees and earth bank.

22. *SUNRISE ON A MOUNTAIN LAKE*  
Oil on canvas, 13 x 19  
Signed and dated on cliff center right: T. Doughty/1830  
Private Collection  
While Doughty probably never made close, scientific studies of the effects of sunrises and sunsets on the elements of nature, especially clouds, he did paint a significant group of this genre of painting. Naturally, these paintings are cast in a radiant light which heightens their dramatic effect. Doughty is known today primarily for his quiet, pastoral landscapes, but he, too, was involved in painting the more sublime and grandiose elements of nature—violent land storms, rainbows, moonlit landscapes and sea squalls.

23. **ROUND TOWER ON THE RHINE**  
Oil on canvas, 21½ x 27  
Unsigned  
c. 1830  
Private Collection  
Doughty introduced classical ruins into his landscapes as early as 1829, eight years before his first trip abroad in 1837. It was only during his second trip abroad in 1845-1847 that he visited the Continent, and no evidence exists that he ever traveled to Germany. What he used for his sources in copying classical ruins is now pure speculation.

24. **A ROMANTIC LANDSCAPE**  
Oil on canvas, 30½ x 40½  
Signed and dated l.r. center: T. Doughty/1832  
Lent by Smith College Museum of Art  
Doughty painted very few landscapes during the years 1830 to the spring of 1832. He was then actively involved in Philadelphia with his brother, John, in the publication of *The Cabinet of Natural History and American Rural Sports*, a monthly sporting magazine that contained colored lithographs of birds and small mammals indigenous to North America after drawings by Thomas Doughty. By the spring of 1832 Doughty returned to Boston, and during the next five years his picture production reached new heights. This is one of the earliest of numerous fanciful or romantic landscapes of that Boston period.

25. **STUDY FROM NATURE (for *The Glades at Cohasset*)**  
Pencil on paper, 8 x 10¾  
Signed l.r.: Doughty  
1833  
Lent by the Cooper-Hewitt Museum of Decorative Arts and Design,  
Smithsonian Institution  
This is a preliminary drawing for *The Glades at Cohasset* owned by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Doughty painted a series of marine views on the north shore of Boston around Nahant and Cohasset from 1833 to 1836.

26. **LAKE SCENE**  
Oil on canvas, 22¾ x 35¾  
Signed and dated l.r.: T. Doughty/1833  
Lent by The High Museum of Art, Atlanta, Georgia  
Friends of Art and Every Saturday Club purchase,  
dedicated to Mrs. Isaac S. Boyd, 1946  
The ethereal, atmospheric quality of nature is almost always best expressed in Doughty's imaginary landscapes. The jagged peaks shrouded in misty clouds became a standard element in such paintings.

27. **MILL POND AND MILLS,  
LOWELL, MASSACHUSETTS**  
Oil on canvas, 26 x 35  
Unsigned  
c. 1833  
Lent by the Harvard Business School  
Doughty painted at least four different views of mills on the Brandywine and Schuylkill Rivers in the early 1820's, two of which, *View of Gilpins Upper Mills on the Brandywine* and *McLane's Mill on the Brandywine*, were in watercolor. These were similar stylistically to the numerous 'country seat' views of gentlemen's estates he was commissioned to paint in the early 1820's. This is one of his last paintings of this genre.

28. **FANCIFUL LANDSCAPE**  
Oil on canvas, 30¾ x 39¾  
Signed and dated l.r.: T. Doughty/in Boston/1834  
Lent by the National Gallery of Art,  
Gift of the Avalon Foundation  
The finest of Doughty's fanciful landscapes, this painting incorporates all the elements of these imaginary views—jagged mountain peaks, 'gothic' ruins, cascading waterfalls and sheer rock cliffs rising above dark pools of water. Almost always, one side of the composition is massed with a dark rocky promontory behind which is the source of a brilliant stream of light, as if a sunrise or sunset, that floods the foreground of the painting.

29. *ROMANTIC LANDSCAPE WITH A TEMPLE*  
 Oil on panel, 15½ x 23  
 Signed and dated lower center: T. Doughty/1834  
 Lent by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston  
 Bequest of Maxim Karolik  
 Doughty may have had a specific classical temple in mind, known to him through a print or painting source, when he painted this landscape. This is one of many paintings of the mid-1830's that bears a characteristic European look.

30. *BEACH SCENE WITH ROCKS, I*  
 Oil on cardboard, 12¼ x 17½  
 Signed and dated l.l.: T.D./1834  
 Lent by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston  
 Bequest of Maxim Karolik  
 Four other versions, all of which were painted between 1834-1835, of this seascape are known to exist. The scene is unquestionably on the north shore of Boston near Nahant. In 1834 Doughty exhibited three seascapes at Harding's Gallery in Boston painted at Nahant —*View of a Sea Beach*, *Nahant Long Beach* and *Nahant Beach with a passing shower*. Doughty's activity at painting marine views was limited to the period 1834-1835, except for several seascapes painted in London in 1838 and again in the late 1840's.

31. *SHIPWRECK*  
 Oil on canvas, 25 x 30  
 Signed and dated on rock left center: T. Doughty/1834  
 Lent by the Fine Arts Gallery of San Diego,  
 Bequest of Miss Eleanor Louise Stanton, 1962  
 Nature in its violent moods or theatrical moments were not common subjects in Doughty's oeuvre. Never do his landscapes of this genre boil with uncontrolled chaos or fury, but the artist was able to create an expressive sense of nature's power and destructive force.

32. *IN NATURE'S WONDERLAND*  
 Oil on canvas, 24¼ x 30  
 Signed and dated lower center: Doughty/1835  
 Lent by The Detroit Institute of Arts,  
 Gibbs-Williams Fund

Probably Doughty's best known painting, *In Nature's Wonderland*, epitomizes the artist's sentiments toward nature. The lone, solitary figure standing lost in reverie deep in the wilds of America, contemplates the majestic scenery around him. The attitude of the artist to nature as represented in this painting is nowhere better expressed than in lines from *A Forest Hymn* by William Cullen Bryant, a friend of Doughty's:

The groves were God's first temples.  
 Ere man learned  
 To hew the shaft, and lay the architrave,  
 And spread the roof above them—ere he framed  
 The lofty vault, to gather and roll back  
 The sound of anthems; in the darkling wood,  
 Amidst the cool and silence, he knelt down,  
 and offered to the Mightiest solemn thanks  
 And supplication. For his simple heart  
 Might not resist the sacred influences  
 Which, from the stilly twilight of the place,  
 And from the gray old trunks that high in heaven  
 Mingled their mossy boughs, and from the sound  
 of the invisible breath that swayed at once  
 All their green tops, stole over him and bowed  
 His spirit with the thought of boundless power  
 And inaccessible majesty.<sup>52</sup>

33. *IN THE CATSKILLS*  
 Oil on canvas, 30¼ x 42¼  
 Signed and dated l.r.: T. Doughty/1836  
 Lent by the Addison Gallery of American Art,  
 Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts  
 This is the best of a group of paintings done between 1836 and 1837 of Catskill scenery. The compositions of these Catskill views became standard formulas, with large feathery elms dominating the foreground with a middle-ground of water, and distant hills. Doughty often bathed these paintings in a hazy yellow light that softened the details of his brushwork.

34. *THE ANGLERS*

Oil on canvas, 27 x 34½

Signed and dated l.r.: T. Doughty/1837

Lent by The Parrish Art Museum

This may be another view in the Catskills. The dense foliage in the foreground is seen against a brilliant sky of purples, grays and blues which are reflected in the fishing pool below.

35. *THE SILVER CASCADE,*

*WHITE MOUNTAINS, NEW HAMPSHIRE*

Oil on canvas, 25½ x 21

Unsigned

c. 1838

Lent by Mrs. L. Bond Powel

In the late summer of 1837 Doughty and his family sailed to England, settling in London until the spring of 1838 when he returned to America. In the 1838 exhibition at the British Institution in London, Doughty exhibited four landscapes, all American subjects painted either from sketches or 'recollection', one of which was entitled *The Silver Cascade, White Mountains, New Hampshire, United States, North America*. He exhibited a painting by a similar title at the October exhibition of the Apollo Association in 1841, a painting that was later distributed in their lottery. It was not unusual for Doughty to paint several similar views of identical scenery. Surprisingly, most of his paintings from his first English period were American scenes. An engraving by Robert Havell after this painting appears in Nathaniel P. Willis' *American Scenery* of 1840.

36. *TINTERN ABBEY*

Oil on canvas, 29½ x 36¾

Signed l.r.: T. Doughty

c.1838

Lent by the Corcoran Gallery of Art,  
Gift of William Church Osborne

Doughty frequently exhibited moonlit landscapes during the thirty-six years of his life as an artist. None of these were then entitled *Tintern Abbey*, after William Wordsworth's ode of 1798. This painting may have been done in England before the artist returned to America in the spring of 1838.

37. *VIEW OF THE BERKSHIRES*

Oil on canvas, 26¾ x 33¾

Signed and dated l.r. center: Doughty/1839

Lent by the Governor's Mansion, Atlanta, Georgia

Doughty spent the summer of 1839 at Fishkill Landing on the Hudson River. It was probably that scenery which inspired this painting rather than the Berkshire area in western Massachusetts.

38. *VIEW TOWARDS THE HUDSON*

Oil on canvas, 21¼ x 17½

Signed l.r.: T. Doughty

c.1839

Lent by The Art Museum, Princeton University

Doughty settled in New York City in the fall of 1838. It was not until the summer of 1839 that he began painting the scenery of the Hudson River around Fishkill Landing and Newburgh. His distant views of the Hudson River were almost always more successful than his views made directly on the river; he found it difficult to handle the massive scale of the Hudson's topography, its broad expanse of water and steep rock cliffs.

39. *THE WATERFALL*

Oil on canvas, 28 x 36

Signed l.r.: Doughty

c.1840

Lent by Mrs. Leeds A. Wheeler

Charles Lanman in *Letters from a Landscape Painter* remarked that Doughty's "skies and water are the most true and beautiful that we have ever seen. A carefully painted waterfall by Doughty is a picture of rare excellence and great value."<sup>53</sup> This painting was almost certainly painted after Doughty's return from England in 1838. Whereas Thomas Cole found English landscape painting the "embodiments of affectation and extravagances", Doughty seemed to derive strength from the picturesque views of early nineteenth century English landscapists. Surviving documents and exhibition records do not reveal if he was specifically influenced by any one English landscapist. Both the vertical composition and the treatment of the large tree on the right suggests that he may have been

influenced by the landscapes of Asher B. Durand whom he knew as early as 1833.

40. *LANDSCAPE, THE FERRY*  
Oil on canvas, 26 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 41 $\frac{1}{8}$   
Signed on boat: T. Doughty  
c.1840  
Lent by William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art,  
Atkins Museum of Fine Arts, Kansas City, Missouri  
Figures and animals always play a "subordinate" role in Doughty's landscapes, but at the same time are always present. The figure of a man poling a flat-bottomed boat with two cows in the foreground bears a strong similarity to a design in Plate 41 in *Etchings of Rustic Figures for the Embellishment of Landscape* by William H. Pyne, published in London in 1815. It is documented that Thomas Birch used this handbook as a source for several of his figure pieces in his landscapes, and may have brought the book to Doughty's attention.

41. *A VIEW OF SWAMPSCOTT, MASSACHUSETTS*  
Oil on canvas, 32 $\frac{3}{16}$  x 48 $\frac{1}{4}$   
Signed l.r.: T. Doughty  
c.1840  
Lent by the Worcester Art Museum  
The low horizon line and predominance of sky in this panoramic view is an unusual feature in Doughty's oeuvre. The dark foreground of tangled underbrush and trees seen against a light background became a standard formula in much of the artist's work.

42. *CORNWALL-ON-HUDSON*  
Oil on canvas, 28 x 36  
Signed l.r.: T. Doughty  
c. 1841  
Lent by The Toledo Museum of Art  
Gift of Florence Scott Libbey, 1952\*

This painting has a history of ownership in Troy, New York where Doughty spent part of the summer of 1841. He wrote his friend the sculptor Henry Kirk Brown from Saratoga that he was finding it difficult to secure commissions for his work, lamenting that: "People are free enough to spend their money for any thing else rather than the Fine Arts. I am sorry that I did not take my pictures to your place [Albany] in the first place rather than Troy—there with utmost difficulty I got off only two."<sup>54</sup>

43. *LANDSCAPE AFTER RUISDAEL*  
Oil on canvas, 32 x 39 $\frac{1}{4}$   
Signed and dated 1.1.:  
After Ruysdael / By T. Doughty / Paris / 1846  
Lent by The Brooklyn Museum,  
Gift of the Pierrepont Family through Seth Pierrepont  
Doughty's second European trip took him to London in 1845, and to Paris the following year. This painting is a copy after Jacob Ruisdael's *Le Coup de soleil* that was owned by the Louvre, and painted by Doughty in Paris in 1846. Rembrandt Peale recorded that in the early 1820's Doughty learned to paint by copying pictures in the collection of Robert Gilmor, Jr. of Baltimore. The exhibition records of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts list several copies by Doughty after European landscapists, notably Claude Lorraine, Albert Cuyp and Karel du Jardin. The earliest of these copies was exhibited in 1829, the latest, the *Embarkation of the Queen of Sheba* after Claude painted for James Robb of New Orleans, in 1851.

44. *LANDSCAPE*  
Oil on canvas, 17 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 23 $\frac{1}{4}$   
Signed on right rock cliff: T. Doughty  
c. 1846  
Lent by Dr. and Mrs. Arnold Porter  
Doughty continued to paint American scenery while living abroad. This painting was exhibited at the American Art Union in New York in 1846 before Doughty returned to America.

45. *VIEW IN PARIS*  
Oil on canvas, 19 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 17 $\frac{1}{8}$   
Signed l.l.: T Doughty  
c. 1846-1847  
Lent by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston  
Bequest of Susan A. D. McKelvey

This view in Paris was included in the 1852 American Art Union sale for \$85. It is the only known surviving painting of its kind, and was probably painted in Paris between 1846-1847.

46. *DESERT ROCK LIGHTHOUSE, MAINE*  
Oil on canvas, 27 x 41  
Signed and dated l.l. center: T. Doughty/T.D./Paris/1847  
Lent by The Newark Museum

The first version of this subject was exhibited at the Boston Athenaeum in 1836, and two years later at the British Institution in London. It appeared as an engraving in Nathaniel Parker Willis' *American Scenery* published in London in 1840. Willis commented on both the scenery in Maine and Doughty's ability to paint it: "There is beautiful scenery in Maine, however; and Doughty, from one of whose pictures the accompanying drawing was taken, made a tour in search of it and filled a portfolio with sketches which (the most of them) might belong to any Tempe for their summer look . . . Successful as Mr. Doughty is in sketches of this description, his forte lies in scenery of a softer and inland character—the lonely forest—brook, the misty wood-lake, the still river, the heart of the quiet wilderness. In painting, these features of Nature, he has (in his peculiar style) no rivals among American painters—perhaps none in England . . . He is a most sweet and accomplished artist; and when the time comes for America to be proud of her painters, Doughty will be remembered among the first."<sup>55</sup> This painting is a replica painted in Paris in 1847 after the 1836 original or an engraving of it.

47. *WINDSOR CASTLE*  
Oil on canvas, 29½ x 40  
Signed l.r.: T. Doughty  
c. 1847-1848  
Private Collection\*

Doughty exhibited a landscape entitled *Windsor Castle* at the 1845 British Institution exhibition. It is recorded that he sold the painting in England for \$2500, a far greater amount than he ever received before or after for a painting. Realizing a success, he painted at least two other views of

48. *LONG ISLAND LANDSCAPE*  
Oil on academy board, 7½ x 14¾  
Signed l.r.: T. Doughty  
c. 1849  
Lent by the Corcoran Gallery of Art,  
Gift of William Wilson Corcoran

The Bulletin of the American Art Union recorded in August of 1849 that Doughty and his family had taken up residence at Huntington South, Long Island. It was probably during the summer months of 1849 that Doughty painted this landscape.

49. *AUTUMN ON THE HUDSON*  
Oil on canvas 34¾ x 48½  
Unsigned  
c. 1850  
Lent by the Corcoran Gallery of Art,  
Gift of William Wilson Corcoran

Doughty's painting production during the last years of his life was adversely affected by chronic illness and acute financial privation. Yet, the few large landscapes that exist from his late period are some of his grandest conceptions; the rich foliage, pearly sky and sweep of the distant hills combine to make this one of the artist's masterpieces.

50. *BEND IN THE RIVER*  
Oil on canvas, 24 x 36  
Signed and dated lower center: T. Doughty/1851  
Lent by The Parrish Art Museum

51. *LANDSCAPE*  
Oil on canvas, 26 x 35½  
Signed and dated l.r.: T. Doughty/1853  
Private Collection

Doughty spent the winter of 1852-1853 and the summer of 1853 in Owego, New York, a small town on the banks of the Susquehanna River. It was probably there that he painted this landscape, the latest surviving dated work by him. The exhibition records of the American Art Union

and National Academy of Design indicate that Doughty stopped exhibiting after 1850, suggesting that his picture production sharply declined in his later life.

52. *EARLY WINTER*

Oil on canvas, 42 $\frac{7}{8}$  x 55 $\frac{15}{16}$

Unsigned

c. 1853

Lent by The North Carolina Museum of Art

53. *SPRING LANDSCAPE*

Oil on canvas, 44 x 62

Signed lower center: T. Doughty

c. 1853

Lent by The Metropolitan Museum of Art,  
Gift of George F. Shelton and Mrs. F.H. Markoe,  
in memory of their father, Theodore B. Shelton, 1917

In the fall of 1852 Doughty, having recently settled in Owego, New York, after summering in Hoboken, New Jersey, wrote of his intentions to begin a series of landscapes depicting the four seasons "which shall be characteristic of the scenery and seasons of this country. This is a long cherished intention and I have waited only for a few opportunities to prosecute the work with vigour. Winter by Moonlight will be the first picture as it will be in seasons—then Spring, Summer and Autumn. Of course I shall do my best on these pictures. And if I have my health they will probably be finished by this time next year."<sup>56</sup> While the painting of *Early Winter* (no. 52) is not seen by moonlight, it seems probable that Doughty changed his mind in executing the final version. Both *Early Winter* and *Spring Landscape* were part of this seasonal series, of which the last two paintings in the series were either never painted or are now unlocated.

## Footnotes

1. "The Fine Arts: Doughty's Landscapes," *Knickerbocker Magazine* (New York, October, 1848), p. 363
2. Charles Lanman, *Letters from a Landscape Painter* (Boston, 1845), p. 247-248
3. E. Anna Lewis, "Art and Artists of America," *Graham's American Monthly* (November, 1854), p. 483
4. Henry T. Tuckerman, *Book of the Artists* (New York, 1867), p. 506
5. Merle T. Westlake, Jr., "Josiah Fox, Gentleman, Quaker, Shipbuilder," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (July, 1964), Vol LXXXVIII, No. 3, p. 316-327
6. *The Crayon*, Vol. I, February, 1855, p. 137
7. William Dunlap, *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States* (New York, 1834), Vol. 2, p. 380
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid, p. 381
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. E. Anna Lewis, op. cit., p. 483-484
13. Dunlap, op. cit., p. 380
14. Ibid.
15. For a list of Robert Gilmor, Jr.'s. painting collection see Dunlap, op ct., Vol 2, p. 459-461
16. Letter from Rembrandt Peale to Thomas Jefferson, December 7, 1825. Jefferson Papers, Coolidge Collection, The Massachusetts Historical Society
17. E. Anna Lewis, op. cit., p. 483-484
18. Dunlap, op cit., p. 352
19. Ibid, p. 357
20. Asher B. Durand, "Letters on Landscape Painting (Letter 1)," *The Crayon* (New York, 1855), p. 2
21. John G. Chapman, *American Drawing Book* (New York, 1847), No. 11, p. 100
22. E. Anna Lewis, op cit., p. 483-484
23. Alan Burroughs, "A Letter from Alvan Fisher," *Art in America* (New York, 1944), p. 117
24. The exhibition records of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts indicate that Doughty exhibited two landscapes inspired from James Fenimore Cooper's novel, *The Pioneers* (1823), in 1824, and one in 1826.
25. Doughty exhibited four landscapes after colored aquatint plates that appeared in *A Picturesque Voyage to India by way of China* (London, 1810) by Thomas and William Daniell at the Pennsylvania Academy from 1825 to 1830. Thomas Birch exhibited *Chinese Tomb after Daniels* [sic] in 1829, three years after Doughty exhibited a painting by the same title at the Academy.
26. In a letter from James A. Hillhouse to Thomas Cole, October 24, 1827, Hillhouse, who commissioned Doughty to paint *Landscape Composition* later exhibited at the National Academy of Design in 1828, wrote that Doughty expected to travel abroad in 1828. Cole papers, The New York State Library, Albany, New York
27. David Tatham, "The Pendleton—Moore Shop: Lithographic Artists in Boston, 1825-1840," *Old-Time New England* (October—December, 1971), p. 37
28. When Doughty wrote Cephas Childs in 1830 to encourage Childs' new lithographic shop, he was unaware of the existence of any other such operation in Philadelphia. Whatever knowledge Doughty had in lithography must have been learned in Boston from the Pendletons.

29. John and Thomas Doughty, eds., *The Cabinet of Natural History and American Rural Sports* (Philadelphia, 1830), Vol. I, after p. vii
30. *Boston Evening Transcript*, August 23, 1832
31. Howard N. Doughty, "A Biographical Sketch of Thomas Doughty," unpub. ms. (New-York Historical Society, 1941), p. 12
32. William H. Gerdts and Russell Burke, *American Still-life Painting* (New York, 1971), p. 116
33. In July, 1837, Doughty borrowed several hundred dollars from the Boston Athenaeum to finance his trip abroad. The loan was secured by three of his paintings placed on deposit at the Athenaeum.
34. Letter from Thomas Doughty to John O. Sargent, June 8, 1839. The Massachusetts Historical Society
35. *The Daily Picayune*, January 18, March 1, 1844
36. Ibid.
37. *The Crayon*, Vol. 3, May, 1856, p. 159
38. James F. Cooper, "American and European Scenery Compared," *The Home Book of the Picturesque* (New York, 1852), p. 69
39. Letter from Thomas Doughty to Robert Gilmor, Esq., November 18, 1822, Ferdinand J. Dreer Collection, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania
40. Letter from Thomas Doughty to Robert Gilmor, Esq. 1822, Etting Papers, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania
41. Letter from Robert Gilmor, Jr. to Thomas Cole, December 5, 1827. Cole papers, The New York State Library
42. Letter from Robert Gilmor, Jr. to Thomas Cole, December 13, 1826. Cole papers, The New York State Library
43. I. R. Butts, *Remarks upon the Athenaeum Gallery of Paintings, for 1831* (Boston, 1831), p. 13-14
44. Journal of Thomas Sully, August 14, 1826, p. 43, on microfilm, Archives of American Art
45. Letter from Robert Gilmor, Jr. to Thomas Cole, December 13, 1826. Cole papers, The New York State Library
46. Harold Edward Dickson, ed., *Observations on American Art Selections from the Writings of John Neal* (State College, Pa., 1943), p. 40-41
47. Letter from Robert Gilmor, Jr. to Thomas Cole, December 13, 1826. Cole papers, The New York State Library
48. Letter from Thomas Doughty to N. Levison, November 21, 1852. Graham Collection of Autograph Letters on microfilm, Archives of American Art
49. Letter from Thomas Doughty to Cephas G. Childs, March 30, 1829. Autograph Collection of Simon Gratz, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania
50. Joshua Shaw, *Picturesque Views of American Scenery* (Philadelphia, 1820), intro.
51. Henry D. Gilpin, *An Annual Discourse before the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts*, November 29, 1826 (Philadelphia, 1827), p. 44
52. William Cullen Bryant, *Poems* (New York, 1856), p. 87
53. Charles Lanman, op. cit., p. 248
54. Letter from Thomas Doughty to Henry Kirk Brown, July 26, 1841. Charles Roberts Autograph Collection on microfilm, Archives of American Art
55. Nathaniel P. Willis, *American Scenery* (London, 1840), II, p. 36-37
56. Letter from Thomas Doughty to N. Levison, November 21, 1852. Graham Collection of Autograph Letters on microfilm, Archives of American Art



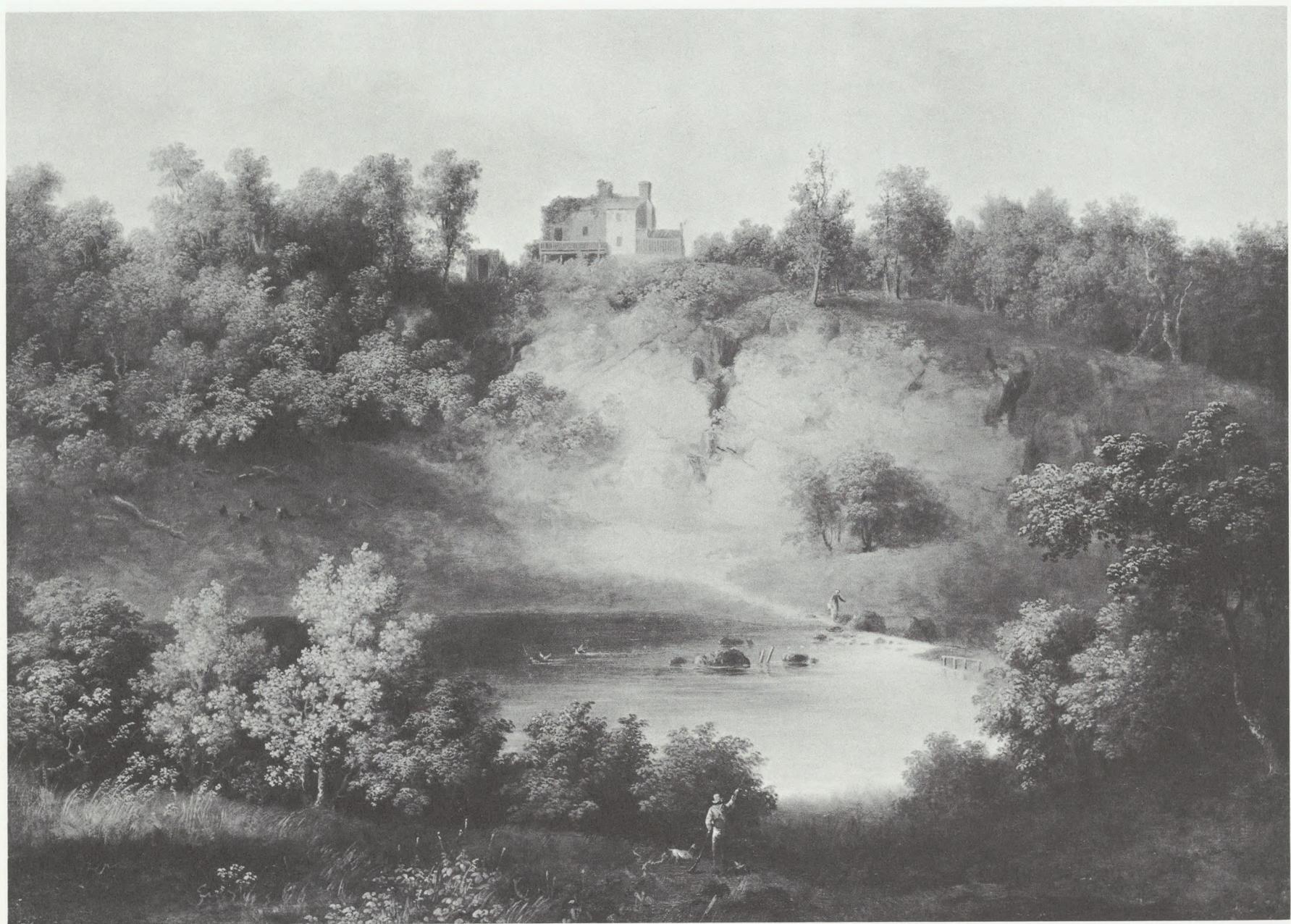
## Plates



1. VIEW OF BALTIMORE FROM BEECH HILL, THE SEAT OF ROBERT GILMOR, JR. 1822



3. LANDSCAPE WITH CURVING RIVER c. 1823



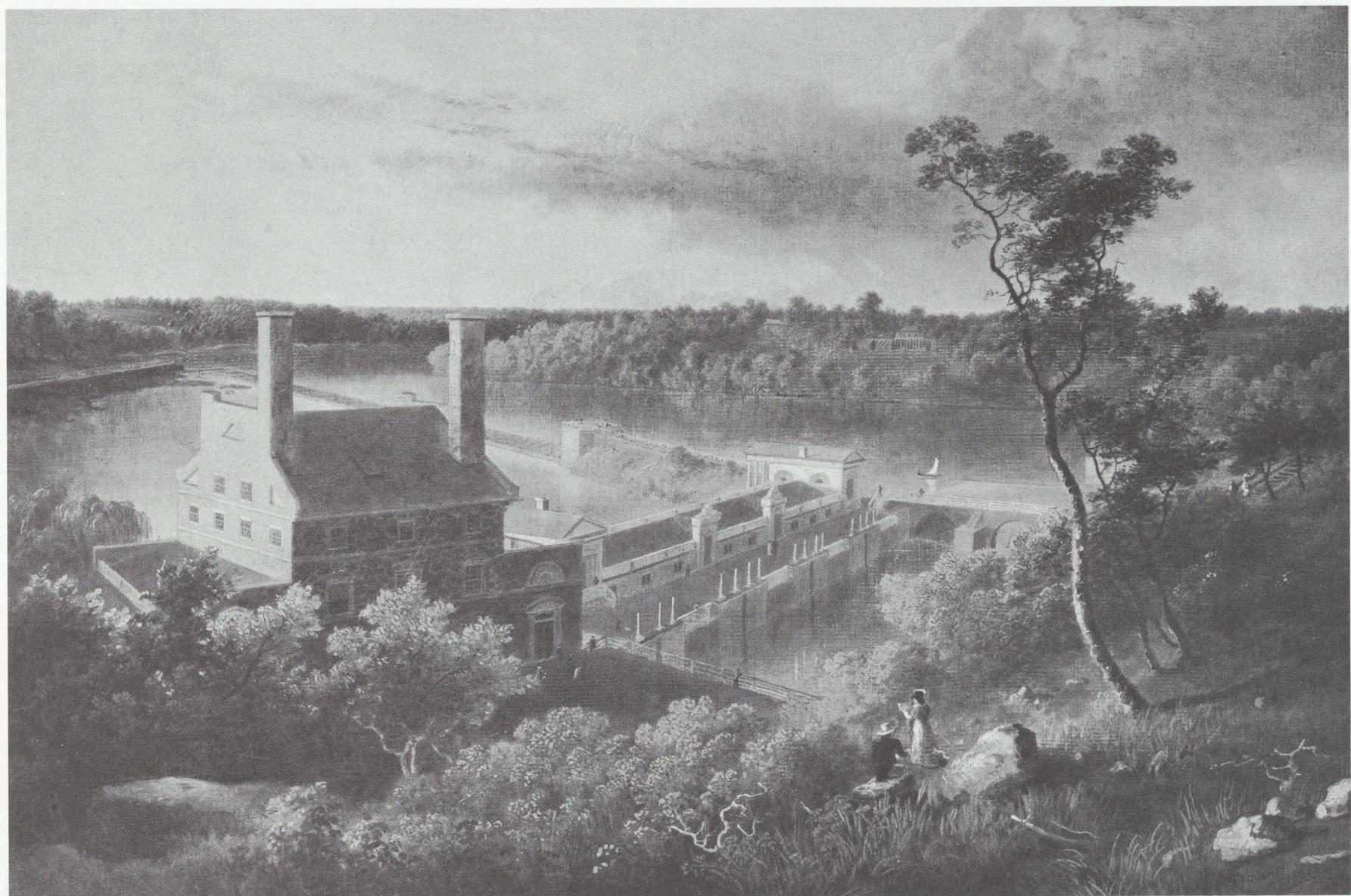
4. *LANDSCAPE WITH POOL* c.1823



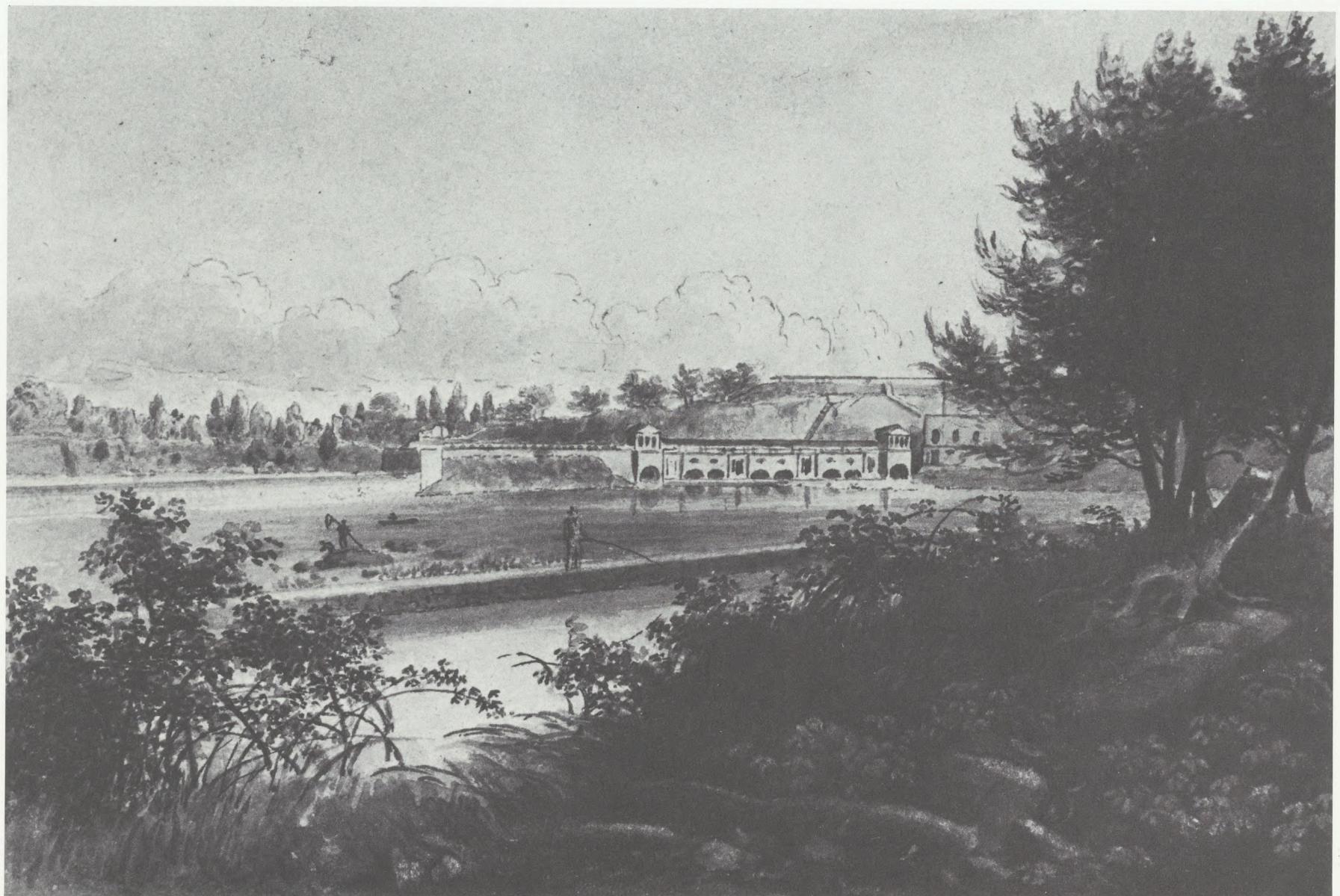
5. CAROLINA SWAMP 1825



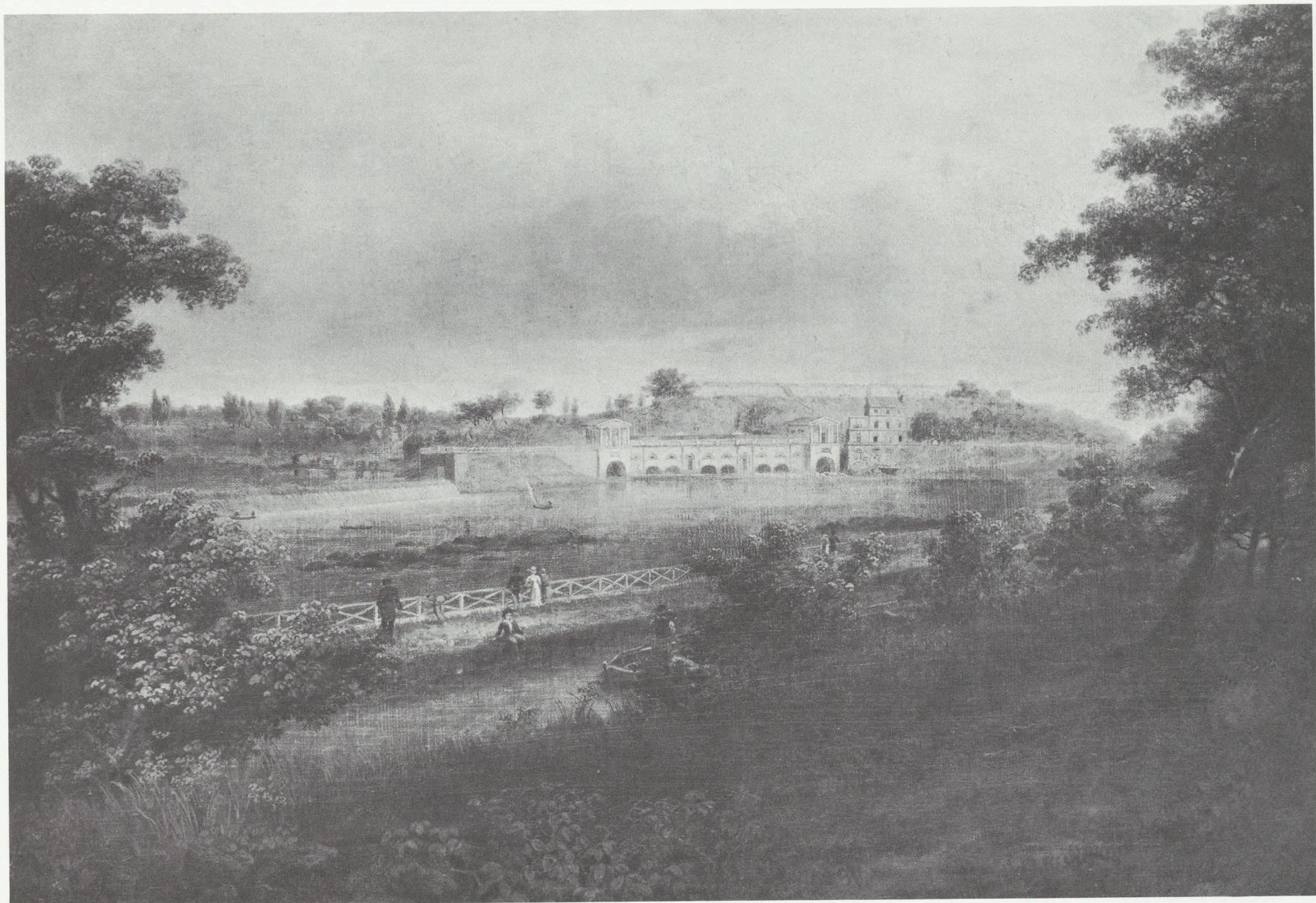
6. *IN FULL CRY* c.1825



7. VIEW OF THE WATER WORKS ON SCHUYLKILL—SEEN FROM THE TOP OF FAIR MOUNT 1826



8. FAIRMOUNT WATERWORKS 1826



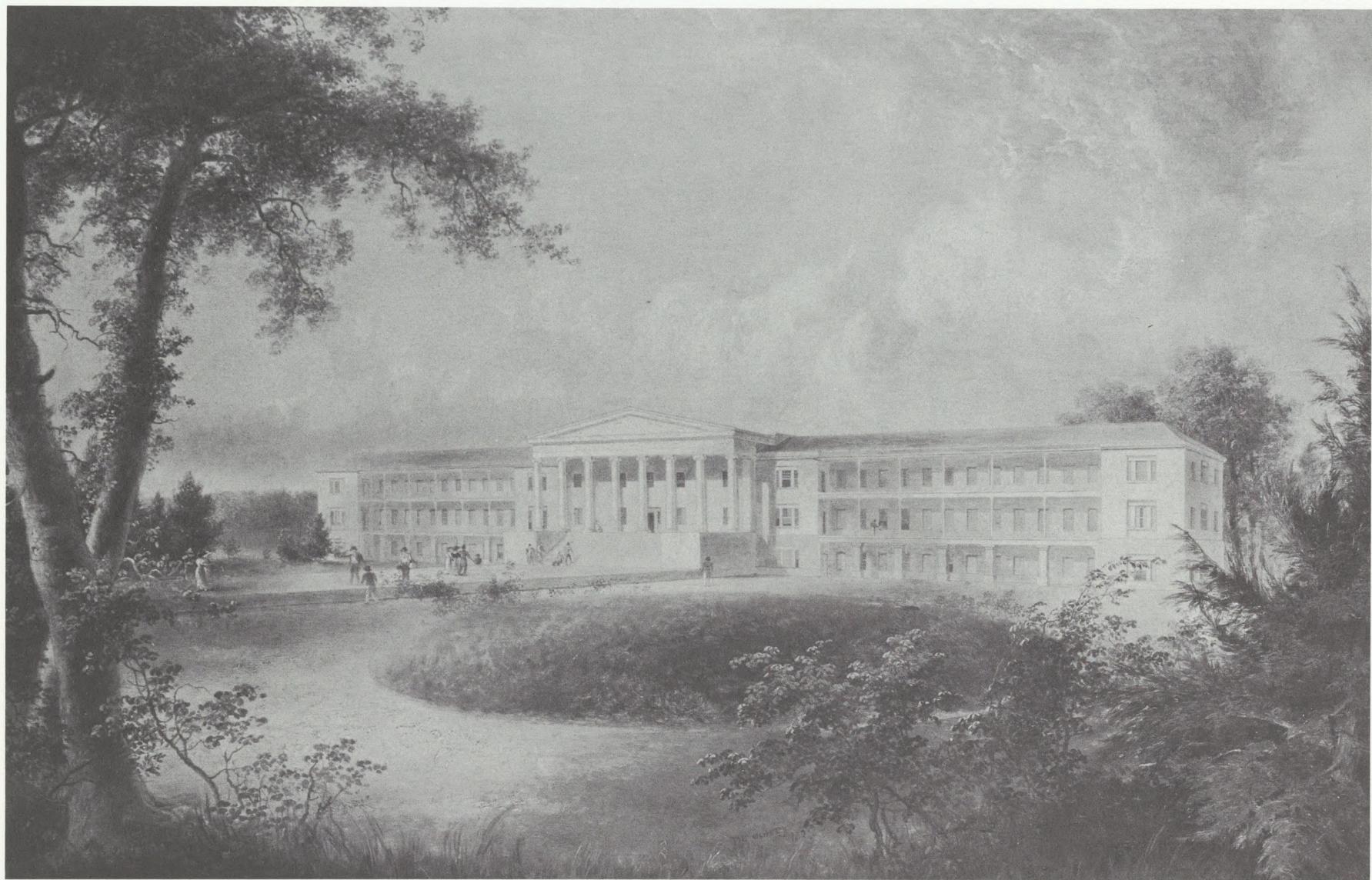
9. VIEW OF FAIR MOUNT WATER WORKS, SEEN FROM THE OPPOSITE SIDE OF SCHUYLKILL 1826



10. DELAWARE WATER GAP 1826



11. *ON THE BEACH* 1827-1828



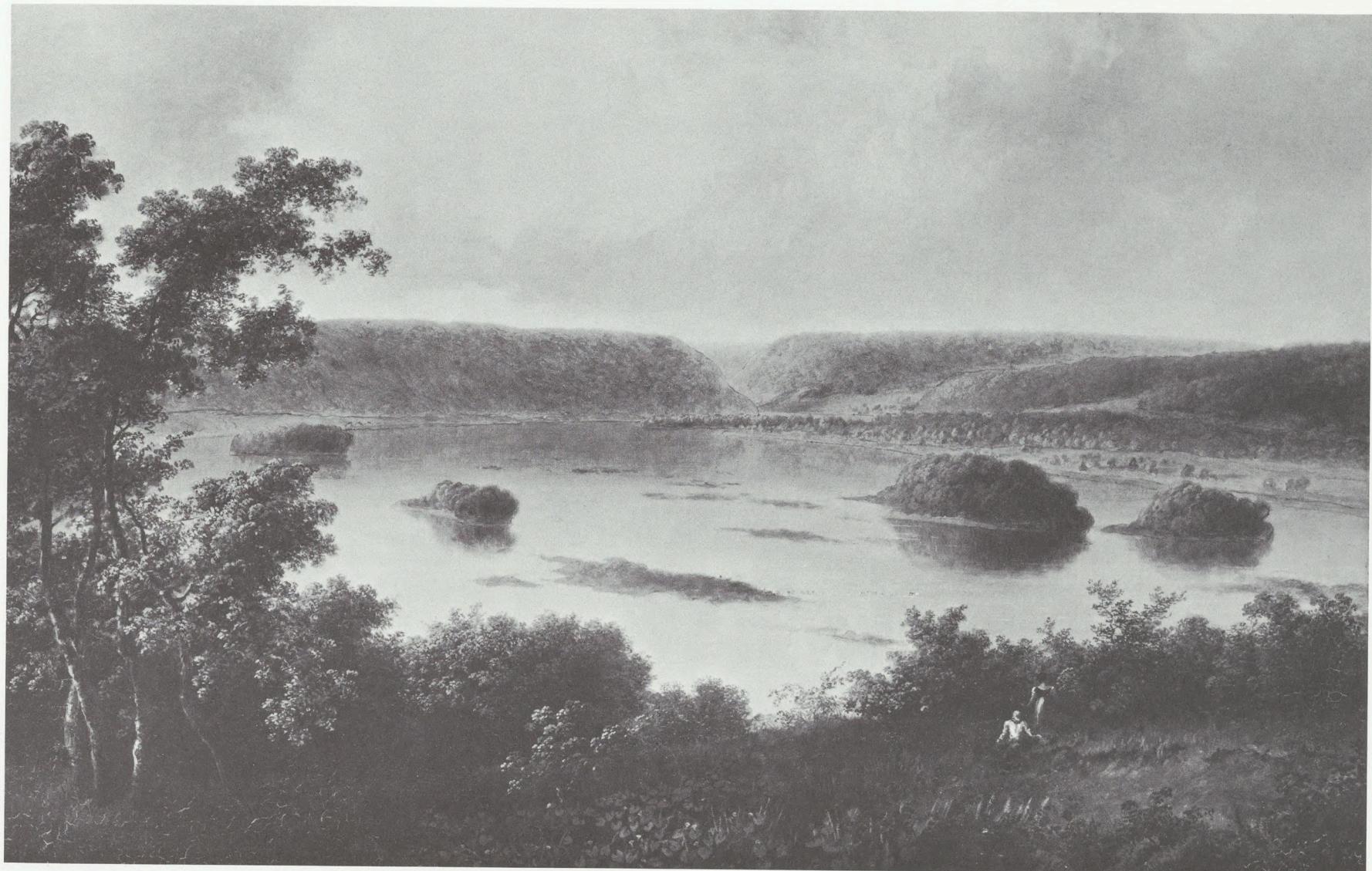
12. THE NAVAL HOME, GRAY'S FERRY, PHILADELPHIA 1828



13. LANDSCAPE—SPORTSMEN FISHING 1828



14. VIEW NEAR HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT 1828



15. VIEW ON THE SUSQUEHANNA NEAR HARRISBURG c.1828-1830



16. GIRLS CROSSING THE BROOK 1829



17. A SWISS SCENE 1829



18. LANDSCAPE 1829



19. MORNING AMONG THE HILLS 1829-1830



20. VIEW FROM STACEY HILL, STODDARD, NEW HAMPSHIRE 1830



21. WINTER LANDSCAPE 1830



22. SUNRISE ON A MOUNTAIN LAKE 1830



23. ROUND TOWER ON THE RHINE c. 1830



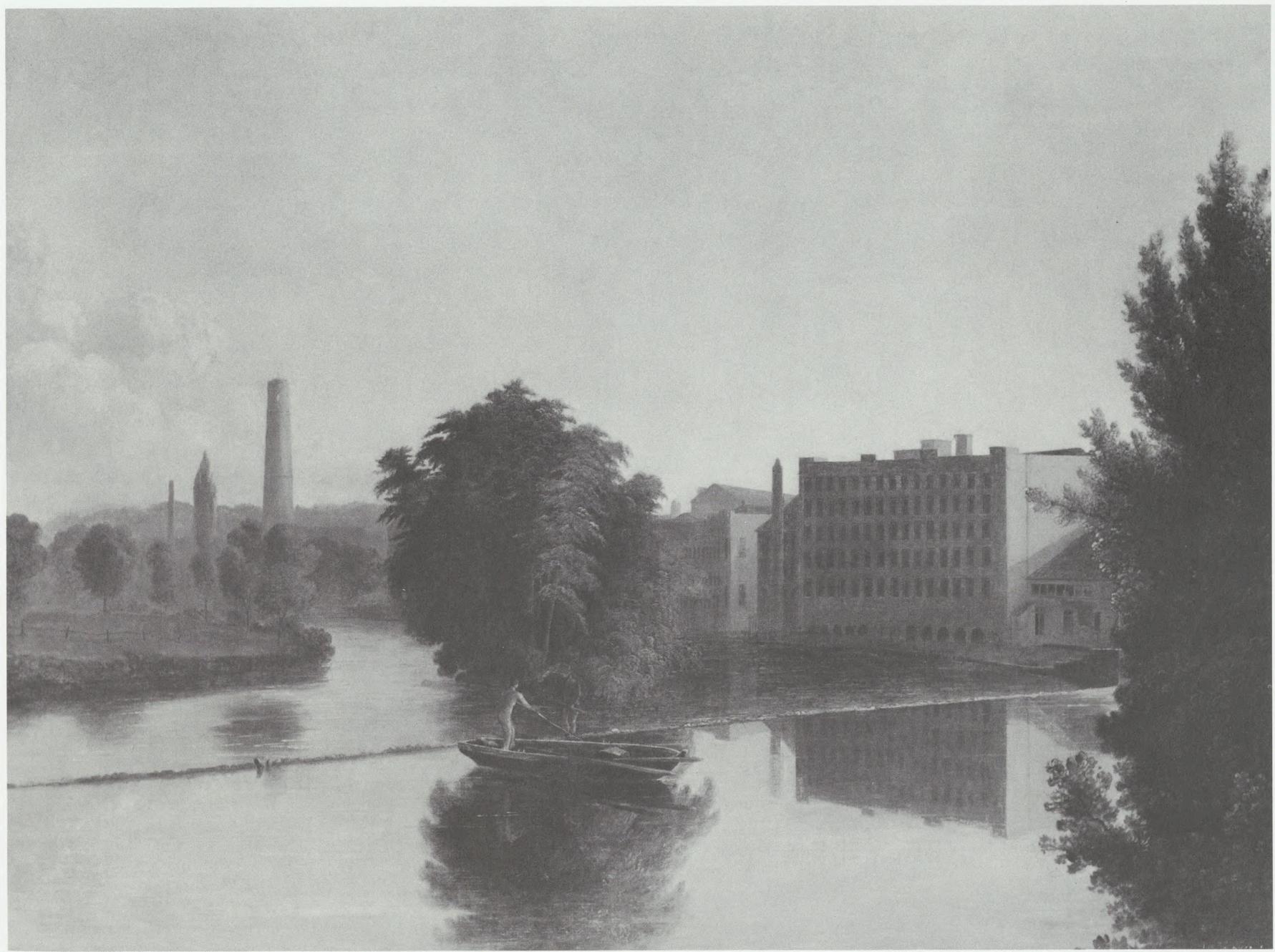
24. A ROMANTIC LANDSCAPE 1832



25. STUDY FROM NATURE (for *The Glades at Cohasset*) 1833



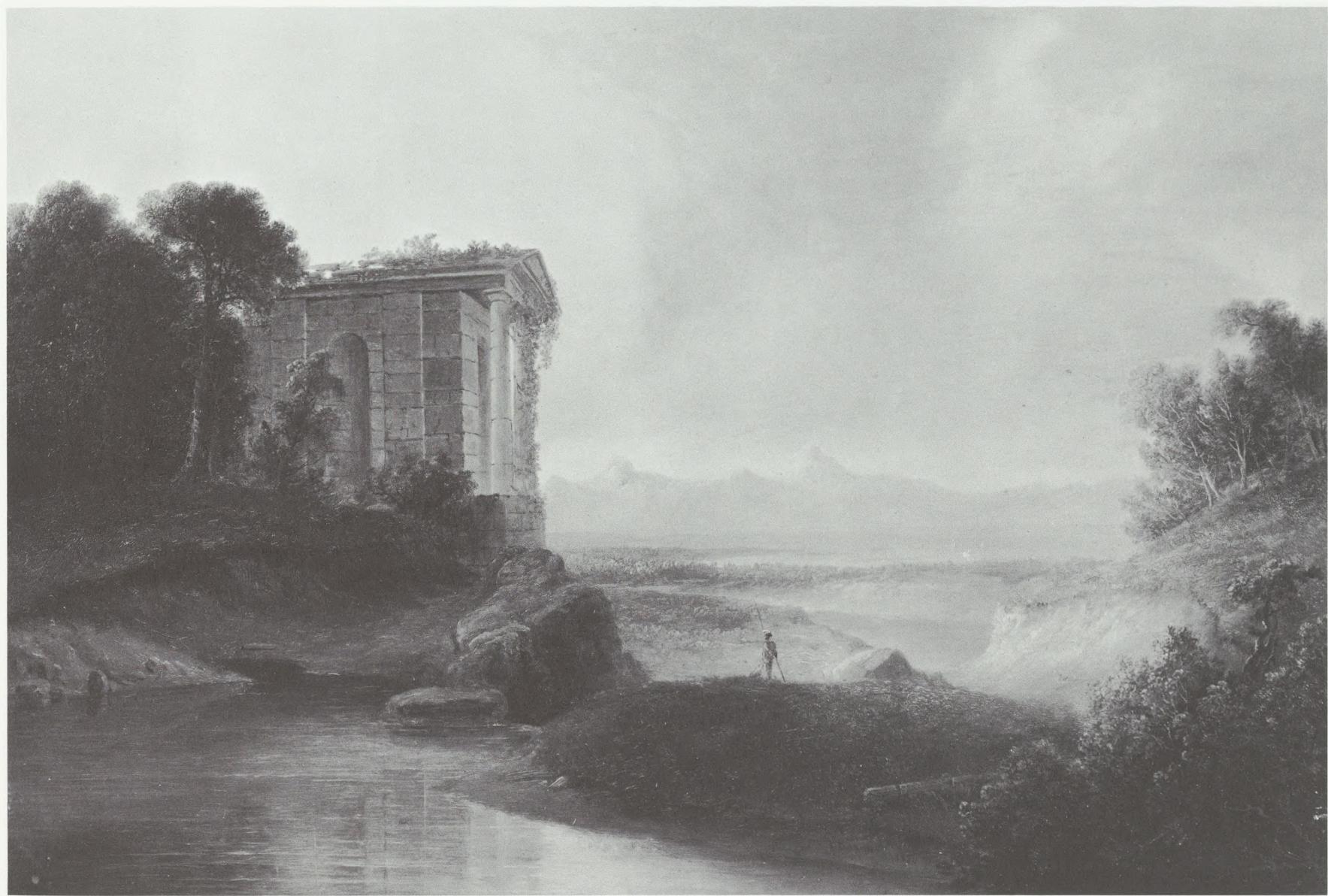
26. LAKE SCENE 1833



27. MILL POND AND MILLS, LOWELL, MASSACHUSETTS c. 1833



28. *FANCIFUL LANDSCAPE* 1834



29. ROMANTIC LANDSCAPE WITH A TEMPLE 1834



30. BEACH SCENE WITH ROCKS, I 1834



31. SHIPWRECK 1834



32. IN NATURE'S WONDERLAND 1835



33. IN THE CATSKILLS 1836



34. THE ANGLERS 1837



35. THE SILVER CASCADE, WHITE MOUNTAINS, NEW HAMPSHIRE c. 1838



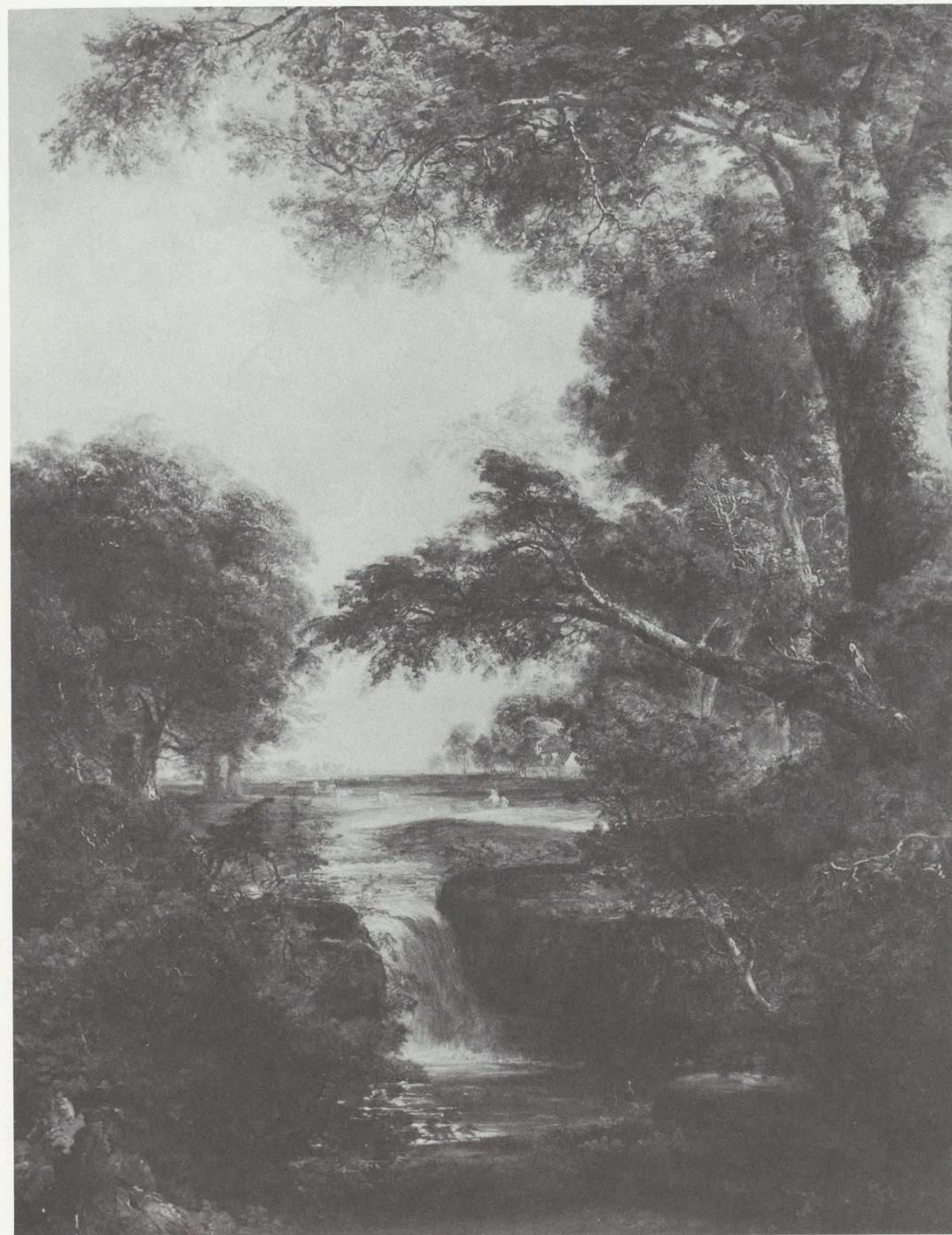
36. TINTERN ABBEY c.1838



37. VIEW OF THE BERKSHIRES 1839



38. VIEW TOWARDS THE HUDSON c.1839



39. THE WATERFALL c.1840



40. LANDSCAPE, THE FERRY c.1840



41. *A VIEW OF SWAMPSCOTT, MASSACHUSETTS* c.1840



42. CORNWALL-ON-HUDSON c. 1841



43. LANDSCAPE AFTER RUISDAEL 1846



44. LANDSCAPE c. 1846



45. *VIEW IN PARIS* c. 1846-1847



46. DESERT ROCK LIGHTHOUSE, MAINE 1847



47. WINDSOR CASTLE c. 1847-1848



48. *LONG ISLAND LANDSCAPE* c. 1849



49. AUTUMN ON THE HUDSON c. 1850



50. BEND IN THE RIVER 1851



51. LANDSCAPE 1853



52. *EARLY WINTER* c. 1853



53. SPRING LANDSCAPE c. 1853





